

**The Role of Indigenous Languages in Southern Sudan:
Educational Language Policy and Planning**

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Abstract

This thesis aims to question the language policy of Sudan's central government since independence in 1956. An investigation of the root causes of educational problems, which are seemingly linked to the current language policy, is examined throughout the thesis from Chapter 1 through 9. In specific terms, Chapter 1 foregrounds the discussion of the methods and methodology for this research purposely because the study is based, among other things, on the analysis of historical documents pertaining to events and processes of sociolinguistic significance for this study. The factors and sociolinguistic conditions behind the central government's Arabicisation policy which discourages multilingual development, relate the historical analysis in Chapter 3 to the actual language situation in the country described in Chapter 4. However, both chapters are viewed in the context of theoretical understanding of language situation within multilingualism in Chapter 2.

The thesis argues that an accommodating language policy would accord a role for the indigenous Sudanese languages. By extension, it would encourage the development and promotion of those languages and cultures in an essentially linguistically and culturally diverse and multilingual country. Recommendations for such an alternative educational language policy are based on the historical and sociolinguistic findings in chapters 3 and 4 as well as in the subsequent discussions on language policy and planning proper in Chapters 5, where theoretical frameworks for examining such issues are explained, and Chapters 6 through 8, where Sudan's post-independence language policy is discussed. In the latter chapters, there is a focus on implications for language use language as a national resource for social and cultural development, both of which are examined in the light of historical and sociolinguistic information in the preceding chapters. Chapter 9 concludes the thesis by proposing an alternative educational language policy that would give a role to the nation's indigenous languages.

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I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own.

The word count (excluding bibliography and appendices) is 96,413.

H. Wani Rondyang

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the struggle for survival of the marginalised Sudanese languages threatened with extinction

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Introduction to the thesis

Modern Sudan, an Anglo-Egyptian creation at the turn of the 19th Century, was established clearly on North-South dichotomy. This official division only represents one example of diversity among other major areas of division including political, ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic differentiation. In this regard, Sudan can be considered a perfect example in post-colonial Africa of a modern nation-state that was created before the nation was actually formed. Such situations breed what may be termed governance paradox in new states, in that they try to unite and integrate their often disparate communities where structures for promoting such unity are very weak or poorly planned. Sudan's post-colonial educational policy, which incorporates language policy and planning by the central government, is one area of governance utilised by the Sudanese state after independence to address, among other things, the national unity of the country as one example of socio-political problems.

Since Sudan became independent in 1956 the Arabic-speaking ruling elite in the central government in Khartoum implemented the Arabicisation policy in Southern Sudan as part of the transitional plans dating to the early 1950s. The assumption was that unity of the educational system would speed up national integration and unity at the political level, and would generate solutions to some of the above mentioned socio-political problems. The educational policies of the post-colonial Sudanese regimes discussed in Chapter 6 are good examples which support this assumption. Similarly, as we will find out in Chapter 8, the implications and consequences of the central government's post-independence educational and language policies are enormous. This has not only affected the status and role of indigenous languages in Southern Sudan, but also the social, political, cultural and educational development of the region.

This study is an attempt at addressing the problem of unsuitability of Sudan's post-independence language policy. The problem I am addressing in this thesis: the post-colonial educational language policy which recognises only one national language as the sole official language of the country has historical roots extending to the colonial period and beyond. At the same time the policy is sustained by ongoing socio-political processes, including the power position of the ruling elites and the attendant

ideological and hegemonic policies. These and the other issues arising in the development of the thesis will necessitate explanation in the relevant chapters. Based on these socio-political dynamics I can state the central argument in the thesis which is that since linguistic diversity and multilingualism characterise the Sudanese society, these realities should be reflected in the country's post-independence educational language policy.

My thesis proposes an alternative national language policy structure that recognises the rights of the indigenous Sudanese languages and accord them roles so that they are used, along side Arabic, and English, the former colonial language, in formal domains such as education and various areas of civil administration. To develop and support this argument, I needed to obtain empirical data to enable me address the research aims and questions which are examined in Chapter 1. Here it suffices to mention briefly what each chapter tackles in the course of developing the thesis.

I open the thesis in Chapter 1 with the description of the methodology and methods employed in the empirical investigation of the educational language problems in Sudan. The reasons for foregrounding the description and development of methodology for this study are related to the constraints, in the form of problem of sources, within which this research project was conceived and carried out. One reason is that, due to the civil war which was raging in the Southern parts of Sudan, the study had to be conducted outside the country. The specific area where the problems of language policy are the subject of this investigation, Southern Sudan, was therefore out of bounds for me. Another reason is that Sudan is hardly studied when it comes to language policy in education as a subject of enquiry. It was envisaged that giving priority to the explanation of the problem of sources would help us understand the limited scope of this study, which at the same time seeks to chart a trail for future research, to be conducted in situ, and of much wider scope. I base the research methodology for this study on qualitative approach, and I use two methods namely, analysis of historical information and documents and interviewing, plus strategies and techniques related to each, in the collection of information.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the definition and explication of theoretical frameworks for the study of language situation in Sudan. In it I review definitions and explanations of pertinent concepts and terms such as language situation and multilingualism, as well

as nation and nation-state. The concepts of mother tongue and diaglossia, like the others in any language situation are linked to ideology as a driving force behind their meanings in specific situations. The historical analysis in Chapter 3 and current description of the Sudan language situation in Chapter 4 are based on the understanding of the theoretical frameworks in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 5, a different set of theoretical underpinnings is explained. These are the concepts and models which explain language policy and planning and the approaches and processes involved in carrying out work related to them. Two theoretical frameworks or models that appear suitable for explaining approaches to and processes of status language planning in this study, the Haugen model and the framework developed by Nyati-Ramahobo, are reviewed. The discussion of post-independence language policy and planning and its implementation in Sudan in general and Southern Sudan in particular follows in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively. Chapter 6 deals with reasons, motives and factors behind the central government's language policy, and the former Southern Region's 1975 language policy. Both Chapter 6 and 7 discuss how language policies of the successive post-independence governments based in Northern Sudan have used power and ideology to promote the Arabicisation policy in Southern Sudan in particular. Both depend on the historical and socio-political analyses in Chapter 3, the description of the language situation in Chapter 4, and views of participants in the interviews for this study, among other supporting ideas.

Chapter 8 examines the implications for indigenous Sudanese languages, of the post-independence language policy of the central government on various considerations including language use, consideration of language as a social and development resource, a symbol of individual and group identity, and a factor in exclusion and empowerment. These categories and themes generated perceptions and views from informants in the study's interviews which form the material for the discussion in this chapter.

Chapter 9 draws on the various analyses and discussions outlined above as materials for concluding the thesis and indicating the way forward. Most of all Chapter 9 also bases concluding remarks and recommendations of this thesis for an alternative and

more inclusive language policy for Sudan and Southern Sudan in particular on contemporary international, regional (African) and local (Sudanese) documents as frameworks in the formulation of such a language policy.

Chapter 1

Research Design, Methodology and Methods

1.1. Introduction

As a departure from the tradition of ordering dissertations, this thesis does not begin with a description of historical background to the problem under investigation. Instead, for reasons which I explain below, it starts off with the explanation of the design and methodology as well as strategies employed for investigating the post-independence educational language policy problems in Sudan. The methodological issues that have led to foregrounding the methodology chapter in this study are explained below as part of rationale to justify the choice of the research approach and methods for this study. The remaining sections of Chapter 1 proceed as follows: After stating the rationale, statements of the aims and objectives of the study as well as the research questions which guide the investigation are given. This is followed by a description of the theoretical basis of the qualitative approach to the research study, the relevant methods such as interviewing and historical analysis employed in this study, as well as strategies and techniques employed with these methods. A brief report on lessons learned in a pilot study is also given.

1.2. Rationale for the Research Design, Methodology and Methods

Foremost among the reasons for the design of this study that foregrounds the methodology chapter is the problem of sources. The problem posed by lack of substantive research on language policy in education in Sudan, has resulted not only in paucity of sources but has made this research unique. These facts motivate the scope and methodological approaches to this study which we need to be aware about at an early stage of the thesis. Secondly, this dissertation is based on policy analysis, both historical and current, of the language situation in Sudan in general and Southern Sudan in particular. Dependence on library sourcing for materials to fulfil this requirement also supports an early appreciation of the methodological basis of the study in order to provide the approaches such as historical analysis and interviewing methods with the profiles they deserve. Thirdly and finally, my use of diasporic interviews as a strategy for obtaining data means dependence on views of few and non-resident informants. Notwithstanding their experience in educational language

policy issues, the fact that many of them had stayed out of the country for a long time means their opinions, while this study values them, may be regarded ancillary to the historical language policy analysis. Nonetheless, the interview data has added invaluable personal lived experiences of the Sudanese participants to the issues, historical and current, raised in the Sudan language situation such as those discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. The interview data has been utilised to provide vital feedback and comments, ideas and perceptions by individual informants in the discussion of issues raised in this study.

In specific terms, this study employs the above named two methods as its main strategies for collecting, analysing and discussing data in the context of qualitative methodology. Historical research involves the collection and analysis of relevant policy documents on language policy in education. Interviewing is concerned with recording information and personal views of informants, as well as analysing data relating to participants' experiences, observations and insights in interviews arranged for the purpose on various themes on the study. The pros and cons of the qualitative approach, the interviews method as well as historical research are described below. But let us first consider the aims, objectives and the research questions in this study.

1.3. Aims and Objectives of the Research

The choice and development of research methodology for this study is motivated by the need to investigate the historical and current socio-political issues in the language situation in the essentially multilingual Sudanese society which I describe in Chapters 3 and 4 later. The discussions in these chapters as well as explanations of the theoretical contexts of this study in Chapters 2 (multilingualism) and 5 (frameworks and models of language policy and planning) provide ample background materials for investigating the problems posed by post-independence Arabisation policy and its implications for the status and role of indigenous languages in Southern Sudan in particular. Understanding the Arabisation policy in Sudan in relation to status of indigenous African languages entails considering the plight of those languages, and of their speakers, from the point of view of an alternative paradigm. This may be a better way of countering the existing post-independence language policy which aims to achieve monolingualism in a fundamentally multilingual society. It is the attempts made by successive post-independence governments in Sudan to promote one

language Arabisation policy (with Arabic as the sole official and national language of Sudan) aimed at displacing the indigenous African languages through the education process that this study questions, and seeks to propose an inclusive language policy to redress the problem.

After this statement of general aim of this study the research objectives and questions which guide the investigation of the current educational language policy problems follow below. The objectives of the study are to:

- 1) Investigate the motives, causes and factors, historical and current, which underlie the post-independence educational language policy problems in Sudan.
- 2) Investigate the effects of those policy issues on the language situation in the country, particularly in Southern Sudan society.
- 3) Propose and argue for ways and means of resolving those problems following established methods and techniques, and theoretical frameworks and models, and
- 4) Propose or recommend long-term sustainable language policy solutions as well as future support activities in the form of further research.

The research questions for which this study seeks fundamental answers are:

1. What are the historical and socio-political factors that have contributed to the shaping of the current language situation in Sudan? The question addresses historical and current issues involving linguistic diversity and how these have created the existing language situation, which in turn has influenced the post-independence language policy.
2. In what ways does multilingualism characterise the language situation in Sudan? To what extent and how do multilingual considerations determine and guide future educational language policy and planning for the country? The question addresses the languages used by Northern and Southern Sudanese in different domains the extent to which their language use patterns reflect linguistic diversity in Sudan as well as bi- or multilingualism of speakers and their attitudes to the languages they speak.
3. What are the socio-political factors which determine the status of languages in multilingual communities and to what extent have those variables influenced the formulation and legitimizing of the post-independence central government's Arabisation policy, particularly in Southern Sudan? It is certain that the

implementation of Arabicisation is carried out at the expense of status, function and role for indigenous Sudanese languages in Southern Sudan.

4. What are the implications of the central government post-colonial Arabicisation policy on the status and role of the indigenous languages and cultures in the Southern Sudan in particular? In what ways can the threatened position of the local languages be guaranteed so that they play a role in the social, cultural and economic development of the Southern Sudanese Communities? This question addresses the extent of the impact of Arabicisation on the status and low level social roles currently associated with the indigenous Sudanese languages in the face of post-independence Arabicisation policy. In the light of this explanation the question implies the extent to which Arabic rather than English or the indigenous languages in the South enhanced educational, cultural and socio-economic progress in that region.

5. To what extent have the post-colonial policies succeeded in addressing the language issues in education and what part have they played in enhancing or hindering the development and use of indigenous languages in Southern Sudan?

6. After the post-independence imposition of Arabisation policy in Southern Sudan and the apparent failure of the 1975 Southern Regional language, does the current language situation in Sudan call for an alternative educational language policy? What are the pros and cons in the formulation and development of an inclusive educational language policy that recognises the language rights of the diverse Sudanese communities and give roles to the indigenous languages? The question of language rights and roles imply power relations between the speakers of the dominant language, Arabic, and those who speak the indigenous languages plus other languages including Arabic.

The post-independence Arabisation process raised language policy in education issues that call for in-depth investigation. Below I describe the qualitative approach, the overarching research methodology as well as relevant methods and strategies, which I find appropriate for investigating the questions and the issues arising, as well as for achieving the stated aims and objectives of this study.

1.4. Theoretical Basis: Principles and Values of Qualitative Methodology

Much has been written in the literature about qualitative methodology and the related methods such as interviewing and documentary analysis. It is not necessary to review

all of it here. However, for the purpose of providing theoretical framework to facilitate the understanding of the research methodology for this study, I am giving a brief explanation of theoretical underpinnings of qualitative approach. Kvale (1996), for example, emphasises meaning construction as one of the values of qualitative research. Silverman (1993; 2000) refers to authenticity or authentic understanding of people's experiences, rather than reliability in quantitative research, as the outstanding value of qualitative enquiry. The materials discussed in more detail below provide useful frameworks needed for explaining the methodological procedures necessary for this study.

Straus and Corbin (1990, p.17-18) describe qualitative research from the perspective of quantitative approach as “any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or by means of quantification” (Straus and Corbin, 1990:17). They specify the field covered by this kind of research as social research and techniques to include observation, document analysis and interviews (p.18). In addition to this, other authors for example Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p. 3) emphasise the multi-method nature of qualitative methodology. Like many other researchers in the field (e.g. Guba and Lincoln, 1985; Crossley and Vulliamy; 1997, p.6; and Kai-Ming, 1997, p. 65) they stress the involvement of processes of social interaction and interpretation of data in “naturalistic” settings, and identification of perspectives among other elements of qualitative inquiry. This usually involves the use of combined methods and techniques of data treatment such as observation, and in-depth interviewing in order to understand those perspectives. As we will find out below, I have applied some of these methods in this research study.

The multi-method feature of qualitative methodology is properly represented by the bricoleur metaphor as a strategy in qualitative approach to research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998, p. 3). A mental picture of the bricoleur as a professional do-it-yourself (DIY) person using and adapting several tools, exemplified by the result of their work: bricolage. This is a construct, physical or social, which represents a synthesis of data from a variety of sources, and is vivid enough to understand qualitative research not only as a multi-method but also a cross-disciplinary approach to research.

The interviews method apparently clarifies the claim that qualitative research is the construction site of knowledge (see Kvale, p.41-42). It evolves from earlier positions of how human beings viewed and organised knowledge. It shows the development of, as well as shift in understanding of the origins of the related philosophical ideas. Interviewing theoretically explains five ways of knowledge making:

1. Knowledge as conversation: This means meanings of interview data is negotiated in a dialogue involving a participant and researcher, as the data is being collected and analysed.
2. Knowledge as narrative: Relates to open-ended interviews and the possibility of participants telling stories about their experiences.
3. Knowledge as symbolised by language: Language is being used more and more to constitute realities during interviews rather than to describe supposedly pre-existing objective one. Language is also both an object and a tool of textual analysis and interpretation.
4. Contextual knowledge: This relates to meanings as they emerge from local contexts, as opposed to obtaining them from universal knowledge systems.
5. Inter-relational knowledge: This is concerned with the relationship that participants in qualitative research interviews bring to the interviews. This relationship leads to generation of further knowledge about the phenomenon under study.

While emphasis on meaning construction through inter-relationship between a participant and interviewer is apparent in the above explanations, the double function of the language aspect, as a means of producing the narrative forms of knowledge about the phenomenon and interpreting that knowledge is interesting.

On the basis of the above explanation, Kvale (1996:42) aptly describes qualitative research interviews as “a construction site of knowledge”. According to Kvale, this happens when two persons engaged in a conversation about a phenomenon exchange views. This description is in a way metaphorical as it connotes a collaborative knowledge-making process during interview encounters. The term “construction”, or “reconstruction” (Seidman, 1991:9), moreover links this feature of qualitative interviews with the philosophical basis of qualitative research, mentioned earlier as represented by the “post-modern construction of knowledge” (see Kvale, p.42). Other

researchers, for example, Miller and Glassier (1997) and Holstein and Gubrium (1997), join Kvale in emphasising the interaction contexts and social construction of meaning as the aim in all the above instances of qualitative research interviews. Understanding knowledge and meaning as “socially constituted” and “created from actions undertaken to obtain it” (e.g. Holstein and Gubrium, 1997:113-114), as depicted by the traveller metaphor contrasts with knowledge formation as a linear process as depicted by the pipeline metaphor (see Kvale (1996).

The above descriptions and explanations of the nature of qualitative approach and the interview method indicate clearly the value of these research strategies for investigating complex social issues such as the educational language policy problem in this study. The main activities involved in a research interview are properly highlighted. These include interaction of the participants in the context of the study, construction of knowledge or meaning of the reality under investigation, as well as description of the phenomenon under study so that it is understood and appreciated by the researchers and others concerned about the problem. I conducted pilot interviews in order to experience these methodological ideas in practical ways before carrying out the actual fieldwork.

1.5. How Research Contexts Motivates Choice of Methods

The reasons why I chose these research methods are linked to the design of the research study in the first instance. Although this study bears the hallmarks of a research which should have been conducted in the proper setting and context of Sudan or Southern Sudan the civil war situation in Sudan could not allow me to carry out an ethnographic type research design. That would have been ideal and it would have perhaps facilitated the finding of a more diverse sample of participants for interviews, observation and even obtain rare historical documents. Although the war situation was eventually resolved after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Nairobi, Kenya, on 9th January 2005 between the Southern Sudan based Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the National Congress Party (NCP), the ruling regime in Khartoum at the time, it was too late for this study. In retrospect, I could not postpone the study or wait for conducive or peaceful atmosphere in order to investigate the effects of the Arabicisation policy and process, which are, arguably

part and parcel of the North-South political and armed conflict or civil war. Inevitably, the conflict and the war situation had posed for me as a researcher and my informants many potential problems and dangers, since the Sudanese government regarded as very strategic the research on educational language policy and planning in relation to Southern Sudan. This, and in fact all other aspects of social and economic research and planning, just to name these two examples, have been the preserve of the central government since independence.

Since conducting this study inside Sudan was ruled out for the reasons I have explained above, opportunities to design a study based on ethnographic observation, or representative samples and facilitated procurement of documentary evidence from government bureaux was a foregone option. But designing the research on the basis of qualitative methodology as described by Kvale and the other authors above, meant I had to specify categories of key informants on language and education policies, whose identities I had to conceal, primarily among the Sudanese communities in the diaspora, but also those inside Sudan. For the purposes of interviews therefore, I identified the following categories of informants: a) teachers and educationalists, including university teachers, b) individuals working for community development or Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs), especially those with educational programmes, c) clergy men/women or Church leaders and the laity working for churches, d) politicians and policy makers. These categories of Sudanese, from among whom I could get key informants for this study, are resident in the countries I targeted namely UK, Kenya and Uganda. And with regard to historical documentary evidence method, which I consider an important component in the data gathering effort in this study since ethnographic observation as a method was ruled out, I have depended on libraries and the Sudan Archive in Durham, UK. It is worth mentioning that even if I and my research advisors thought that observation data would enhance and enrich interview information by either confirming or nullifying claims by some respondents, time and financial constraints forced me to forego alternative ethnographic observations which I could have planned to carry out among Sudanese communities in the Southern Sudan areas under the administration of the SPLM by then.

In addition to the above explanation, the study's design has taken into account the Sudan language situation in general. It is envisaged that an in-depth understanding

and evaluation of the extent to which the participants in this study value and identify with their indigenous languages, as well as with the languages of wider communication such as Arabic, can be better ascertained by means of the qualitative methodology. The fact that this study is language policy-based influenced further my decision to necessarily adopt the qualitative approach and interviews. In addition to the role of central government's language policy and planning activities, the influence of socio-political and economic forces in the promotion of Arabisation policy in Southern Sudan needs to be accounted for. Much about these theoretical aspects of the educational language policy study is part of the discussion of conceptual framework in Chapter 5.

In the light of the post-independence implementation of Arabisation policy in Southern Sudan (in more than 50 years since 1951), an important issue which influenced the research design for this study and its general orientation was whether the implementation of the post-independence Arabisation policy had resulted in a shift from indigenous languages to Arabic, or whether bilingualism and diglossia (as described in Chapter 2), realistically speaking, constitute the sociolinguistic order of things in Sudan as a whole and specifically in Southern Sudan.

As I could not conduct this research study inside Sudan due to the civil war in country as I mentioned earlier in the beginning of this section, the above reasons moved me to opt for research design and methodology (the qualitative approach) that addresses language problems both in the present and future but contingent on past socio-political events and processes that contributed to the transformation of language situation in Sudan, since resolving the language problem depended on finding a lasting solution to the protracted North-South conflict and civil war. I imagined that this research could become, at least in theory, part of the process of conflict resolution, at least in its vision of raising awareness and advocating for implementation of a language policy that accords role to indigenous languages. As we will find out in Chapter 9 where I conclude this thesis, part of the resolution of the second round of Sudanese civil war (1983-2005), in the form of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) clearly includes provisions calling for the resolution of the post-independence language and education policy problems. Thus, whereas carrying out the research in Sudan might have necessitated the use of such strategies as

questionnaires to map out wider views or ethnographic observation strategies within a quantitative or qualitative approach, the conditions I mentioned above ruled out such a design. So, because the design of this study was influenced by qualitative methodology, research interviews and analysis of historical and current documentary evidence which are apt with the use of fewer but key informants have been employed.

Methodological triangulation (Cohen, et. al. 2000, p 115) has been adopted here because of its usefulness in combining data from various sources. Although it is criticised for some of its weaknesses, for example that it cannot ensure reliability and validity, it allows the researcher to elucidate a complex problem and provide a fuller evaluation of a controversial aspect of education. It certainly offers the possibility of combining my data from interviews and historical documents. I now examine the three ways of data collection which I adopted giving reasons for their choice.

1.5.1. The Interviewing Method

Interviewing is characterised by the following features: It is commonly used in educational research, particularly in small-scale studies. It is a flexible method which can be adopted for a wide range of research studies. Interviewing has several styles such as structured, semi-structured and open-ended conversations from which a researcher can choose (Drever, 1995, p 1). These values of the interview method tell one side of the story about it. The reality is that in choosing the interview strategy, I had to consider the question of time and resources at hand. In other words I had to do so in relation to the constraints of my study, and after considering the pros and cons of the other methods in the light of those problems. As I stated above in the rationale for this chapter, the main reason for choosing the interview method was extreme difficulties I would have faced if I opted to conduct this study, ethnographically for example, in Sudan. Drever (1995) give useful summaries regarding the advantages and disadvantages of interviews.

Among the strengths of the interview method is the flexibility that the research can obtain from it, starting from the moment of establishing contact, gaining access and when carrying out actual interviewing. The interviewer can have an interview guide but he can revise it or rephrase some questions (in writing or verbally) even when you are already conducting the interviews. It is the 'naturally occurring' interaction which

results in rich data, a feature which is often referred to as the basis of the quality of interview data. As Silverman (1993) puts it,

“Compared to field notes of observational data, recordings and transcripts can offer a highly valued record to which researchers can return as they develop new hypotheses” (Silverman, 1993:10-11).

However, interviews consume a lot of time, and this constitutes its greatest disadvantage. Unlike questionnaires, interviewing can pose difficulties for the non-expert and novice who is not experienced in dealing simultaneously with notes taking while recording interviews. It is also the nature of qualitative research to deal with such problems as leading questions, following but not sticking to the schedule or interview guide and processing interview information in order to obtain the data.

1.5.2. The Historical Analysis Method

Historical research is the broader field within which the method of studying documentary evidence is located. This method of research is defined as

“the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events” (Cohen, et. al. 2000: 158).

The most outstanding value of the historical or documentary evidence method is summed up as follows: “The ability of history to employ the past to predict the future, and to use the present to explain the past, gives it a dual and unique quality which makes it especially useful for all sorts of scholarly study and research” (ibid). Engaging with documentary evidence allows for reconstruction in order to achieve “a faithful representation of a previous age” (ibid). But using the documentary method has its limitations which are explained below.

The fact of having to reconstruct often selected historical data can result in inadequate and sketchy information. Meanwhile, Ozga (2000), and Ball (1990) explain the relevance of political and historical research to qualitative approach and to this study in particular. Ricento (2006) shows that history as well as the post-modernism approach to research, occupy great part in language policy and planning research. These authors insist that policy-making should not remain the preserve of policy-makers or the power elites, as it is the case in this study with the central government in Sudan. Ozga argues

that “all research in education to some degree engages with policy” (Ozga, 2000:3); adding that “It is difficult to imagine an education research that takes place outside policy” (ibid). The point of relevance to my research in this argument is that the involvement of all sectors of society—teachers, parents and students—with education policy must of necessity lead to closer examination of historical documents or interview data for evidence relating to the centre-periphery power relations in order to appreciate the policy issues involved. Similarly, Ball (1990) describes educational policy-making in Britain up to the mid 1970s as a ‘clientist’ system or a ‘triangle of tension’ fraught with tensions, influences, and pressures pulling at three directions, namely of Teachers’ Unions, Local Education Authorities and Department of Education and Science (Ball, 1990, p. 7; and on Policy Matters). Again, power, ideology and centre-periphery relations, which exist in the Sudanese situation, are apparent in this model.

1.6. Report on Pilot Study

Piloting was necessary to chart the way for this study because the interview method, to a novice researcher, is a process full of twists and turns and complex relationships, mostly unanticipated and deserve rehearsal before the interviewer gets deep into the actual study. Pilot work is defined as an activity that guides the researcher “along strange paths or through dangerous places” (Seidman, 1991:29, citing Gove, 1971). Following Oppenheim (1992), no aspect of a research study needing piloting, for example an interview guide, emerges ready to use before many trials to make sure that it is reliable or does the job for which it is intended to do.

The purpose of piloting in this study was to gain hand-on experience, confidence and ability on how to conduct interviews. The practical activities I carried out included preparing the interview guide and practicing strategies involved in interviewing. The practical activities enabled me to suggest improvements to the research guide. In short, it was a way of ascertaining how the interview guide related to the focus, structure, methods, strategies, techniques and procedures employed in the study. The lessons I learned from piloting the empirical aspects of the study in London with four Sudanese informants which helped me cope with the more complex fieldwork problems later included:

- Ability to prepare the interview guide which involved identifying interview themes and organising questions under them in a manner that should facilitate their use during fieldwork.
- Management of interviews e.g. making contact, gaining access to participants and conducting interviews in various locations including offices and residence.
- Coping with practical problems involving time, travel costs and physical stress management.
- Awareness of and sensitivity to procedural issues such as those involving my position in relation to the participants, e.g. respect for participants' opinions and views on matters relating to the conduct of interviews, their privacy in respect of interview location, length of interviewing time, monitoring or being aware about their physical and emotional stress and resolution of practical administrative and logistic problems.

The brief account shows that piloting has both benefits and limitations, (the latter mostly implied) that are worth noting. But although it is costly, piloting saves time and money in the end which is a great benefit (see Oppenheim (1992; and Gillham, 2000 for more details).

1.7. Fieldwork and Constraints of the Interviewing Method

The context of the research interviews, the main aspect of the fieldwork, was determined not only by the approach to sampling, but also by the overall design of the research which had to be conducted outside Sudan due to the political reasons explained earlier. I used the opportunity sampling strategy in the identification and selection of participants. I targeted potential Sudanese informants as specified in the categories of key informants above. These were people who I think had experiences in dealing with language policy matters because they dealt with such issues in a variety of ways and in different capacities, whether before the civil war broke out in 1983 or at the moment. As specified in the discussion of the study's design, they include teachers and teacher trainers, university lecturers, educationist working in different fields for example with non-governmental organization (NGO), clergy men and women, church and community leaders and so on. As I soon realised most of the

potential participants I targeted in Nairobi were either working for the Sudan People's Liberation Movement on voluntary basis or with NGOs, making contacts with them led me to look for them not in their places of residence but at their work places. As a result, most of the contacts and interviews were conducted in the office environment. In Kampala, the location in most cases was the hotel rooms of interviewees.

I needed to assess the extent of the impact of the context in terms of the two groups of participants on the data collected. In other words, how being members of the liberation movement and being in exile for a long period of time might have influenced their views or opinions on current thinking on educational language policy in the Sudan. Was there any evidence of difference of views regarding the contentious issues in this research, for example the implications of Arabicisation policy for Southern Sudan languages, and for the role of those languages in society? Was it possible that interviewing the participants from the Sudan on conference visit to Kampala might have possibly resulted in data that I might not have obtained if the interviews were conducted inside the country, given the fact that their security would have been compromised? These are good questions, and my answers to both are that, for the first question there was no evidence of difference of views, instead experiences and observations of participants from both groups augmented each other's. For the second question I think I would not have obtained the data I got in Kampala from the same people if I interviewed them in Sudan, in person or through telephone for example.

1.7.1. Making Contact and Accessing Participants

As in the pilot study, I did most part of contact activities initially by phoning and then visiting the potential participants in their offices. I usually took the opportunity to introduce myself fully to the participant, verbally and via the Informed Consent Letter I had prepared (Appendix 2). I also gave those who insist on looking at the interview questions a copy of the Interview Guide. In only one case was contact and appointment for interviews arranged entirely by phone, but that case, over Easter Sunday, in Ko'boko, Western Uganda, did not materialise. In most cases I arranged appointments for interview during the contact visits which I made sure I carried out, and usually in the office, and on rare occasions at the residence.

Of all the contacts I made for interviews, three failed, two in Uganda and one in Kenya. In addition, I could not make contact with four to five potential interviewees at the Sudan-Uganda border towns because they had gone inside the SPLM administered areas in the southern Sudan during the Easter holidays.

1.7.2. Constraints of Contact Making and Accessing Participants

The success or failure of the fieldwork was determined by a number of constraints that I encountered during the data collection activity. The other constraints were time and financial resources. I was so much conscious of time that I might have used other means in my disposal to have not just the consent to participate in the interview, but also to have the nearest appointed time possible. This thought was not apparent at the time, and no participant appeared unduly pressured by me to agree to an arrangement for interview. Moreover, I applied the procedure spelt out in Informed Consent Letter.

Transport was a problem for me because I stayed with a cousin who lives in the suburbs of Nairobi. To connect to the nearest public transport route meant walking for about 30 minutes or waiting for a long time before one gets a ‘Matatu’, the local minibus. The alternative was to use a taxi. Although public transport is cheap in Kenya and Uganda and I could afford it with the little money I had, but public transport (Bus and Matatu) was too slow. I did not want to miss or arrive late for the interviews, so I had to use a taxi on several occasions. This made me consciously worried about my financial limitation during the fieldwork. At times I had free lifts from my relatives and friends, when they were not pressed with their own time-demanding daily businesses. In Kampala, Uganda, I had a car at my disposal, provided I supplied fuel and agree on daily programmes with the driver. But the apparent free travel for me in Kampala did not make my Uganda field visit less costly. In addition to paying for fuel and other amenities, I had to fly to Northern Uganda instead of taking a coach as I did from Nairobi to Kampala because of insecurity in that part of Uganda. This trip was costly, considering the precarious financial situation I was in then.

I feel the above-mentioned constraints determined, among other things, the extent of opportunity sampling as well as the number of participants in the interviews. In the end I interviewed 24 participants (see table below), spending more than 30 hours in

total. The 24 participants, provided with pseudonyms to protect their identities, are categorised as follows: 8 teachers and teacher trainers, 4 political leaders and policy makers, 4 clergymen, 4 from NGOs working on education development, 2 linguists working for the University of Nairobi, and 2 vernacular literacy teachers working with SIL on the development of materials for indigenous languages.

Table 1: Showing Categories of Participants in the Fieldwork Interviews in Kenya, Uganda and UK

Teachers/educationalists

1. Adelino Drago	Interview 30 th March 2003	Nairobi
2. Korseed Saeed	Interview 29 th April 2003	Nairobi
3. Edward Kulang	Interview 9 th April 2003	Kampala
4. Denis Losu	Interview 31 st March 2003	Nairobi
5. Stanley Lu'bang	Interview 9 th April 2003	Kampala
6. Paul Mogga	Interview 20 th March 2003	Nairobi
7. Ollamoi Paul	Interview 28 th March 2003	Nairobi
8. Bismark Opilu	Interview 28 th March 2003	Nairobi
9. Rev George Kiriba	Interview 1st April 2003	Nairobi

Development and Education NGO Managers

1. Kenyi Monasuk	Interview 25 th March 2003	Nairobi
2. Robert Milla	Interview March 2003	Nairobi
3. Jenti Kasang	Interview 11 th April 2003	Kampala

Policy Makers

1. Adam Abubakar	Interview 29 th April 2003	Nairobi
2. Simon Lomude	Interview 25 th March 2003	Nairobi
3. Kobi Danima	Interview 27 th March 2003	Nairobi
4. Rev Andrew Tombe	Interview 11 th April 2003	Kampala

Church and Development Workers

1. Rev Tabu Eluzai	Interview 11th April 2003	Kampala
2. Fr. Achol Makur	Interview 12 th April 2003	Kampala

3. Bishop Dominic Dau	Interview 12 th April 2003	Kampala
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Human Rights Workers

1. Mukhtar Ali	Interview 27 th Decemeber 2003	London
2. Ahmed Sadik	Interview 5 th April 2004	London

Linguists and Researchers

1. Abdu Ahmed	Interview 6 th March 2004	London
2. Elisa Yuggu	Interview 30 th March 2003	Nairobi
3. Gordon Ibrahim	Interview 4 th April 2003	Nairobi

Preparing for interviews was one thing, carrying them out with the persons contacted and visited in person was another and had its own problems which I now describe below.

1.7.3. Actual Interviewing and its Problems

As I conducted most interviews in office environment, the most common problem was background noise from other staff in the offices and from passing traffic where the interviews were conducted near main roads. The other was sound of telephones, especially mobiles, which interfered with the process and flow of interviews. I had to come to terms with these as well as with movement of people in the offices. Occasionally I placed the tape recorder on pause to allow for longer interruptions to interviews. Eventually I became flexible in my dealing with the noise problems, and it helped me in concentrating on the interviews. Adopting flexibility as an operating attitude helped me to improvise on several occasions, for example, when there was an electric power cut in the area of Nairobi where I was conducting interviews. Instead of postponing the interview for another day or wait for an unspecified length of time for the return of power, I carried on but switched to taking notes for the remaining part of the interview.

Note taking and tape recording interviews can interfere with the flow of the interview procedure. In addition to the well known problems in the literature, such as changing the mood of the interviewee or making them apprehensive, I noted that tape recording in Nairobi and Kampala was hindered by background noise and power cut problems. At times the batteries and electric adaptors refused to function. In spite of these

limitations, I felt that recording interviews in this study guaranteed valuable and quality data which I as a researcher am now able to preserve for a long time as reference sources. This is the case for all research interviews and not only restricted to this study.

1.8. Research Techniques: Transcribing, Organising and Analysing Interview Data

1.8.1. Transcribing Interview

As is the case in all research using the interview method, the result of the fieldwork I carried out in Nairobi, Kampala and London provided me with a pile of tapes and field notes. To enable me extract useful information to answer the research questions, the next step was to prepare the data for use in the study. According to Drever (1995) the aim in this step is “to make the material manageable, while at the same time retaining as much of the original information as possible and avoiding any distortion” (Drever, 1995:60). The procedure involves transcribing the tapes and turning the materials in them into raw data and then to analyse and organise the data.

There was however a question to resolve before carrying out transcription and that was whether to do it verbatim. I was persuaded by the logic that verbatim transcription is associated with the ethnographic tradition in which a small number of informants and use of the exact words of respondents are the ideal ways of managing research data and using them to express ideas. I therefore decided against verbatim transcription of my interview materials, in the sense that I did not include all the nuances such as hmm, ahh, silence, pause, etc (see Silverman, 1993). Neither did I choose the selective path, which has time reduction advantages, in my transcription (see Drever, 1995 p 63). Using an appropriate transcription machine and word processor computer programme, I instead transcribed the conversations in the interviews and the stories told by those respondents who chose to illustrate some of their points, in as full versions as possible and in their own words. (See Appendix 4 for a sample of interview transcript) The aim in my approach was to fulfil the value and advantages of transcription, one of which is that a transcript is regarded by most people as “providing a ‘true’ record of the original interview” (Drever, 1995:60), and that it can enhance and demonstrate the soundness of one’s research by, for example,

opening it up for verification checks by colleagues to correct errors (especially where research involves teamwork), and it can facilitate extraction of quotations to highlight one's discussions and conclusions.

1.8.2. Organising and Analysing Interview

I used the themes in the interview guide as organising categories in the analysis of the data in this study. Having to spend several weeks transcribing the interviews, which proved the limitation of this technique in the literature that transcription is time-costly. Instead I opted for the use of a simple but appropriate and personally adapted toolkit involving cutting, copying and moving and pasting material to analytic categories based on the interview themes and questions on the interview guide, and saving them in word files set up for those themes. For example, following Drever (1995, p 74), respondents' answers to questions under 'Language and Social Identity' theme in this study were organised under the following categories in the data analysis:

- Whether language is the most important aspect of your social identity
- Sudanese languages you identify with.
- Non-Sudanese languages you identify with, and
- Whether you feel that the Sudanese should identify with one single language and one culture

By copying and pasting the respondents' answers under each of these categories, enabled me to assess the weight of their views and experiences on the issues raised in this particular case and in each interview theme. This method was helpful in organising and summarising the data, making it useful for discussions later on. This procedure was used throughout the data analysis section of this chapter.

The procedures involved in conducting the research interviews needed to be augmented by other methods in order to fulfil the triangulation approach I opted for in this study. Studying historical documents for useful evidence was a second method I employed in this study. I describe briefly below how I made use of this method.

1.9. Identifying, Obtaining and Evaluating Documentary Evidence

As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, the sources of historical data for my documentary evidence were the library, especially the Sudan Archive at Durham

University Library and Sudan government's educational policy documents, which as expected have language policy components. Although historical and current government documents are obtainable from the named sources, from inside Sudan through travellers as well as from the SPLM/A administered areas formerly, these sources are considered secondary data. The information is however valuable and I have made good use of it in this study (Cohen, at. al. 2000, p 161).

Working with historical documentary calls for rigorous evaluation procedures aimed at establishing "their worth" (Cohen, at al, 2000:162). These authors elaborate on some of the necessary procedures two of which I take special note. Firstly, the need to appraise the authenticity of the source, and secondly, to evaluate the accuracy or value of the data I employed two procedures known as external as opposed to internal criticism in the examination of historical information. The objective of the rigorous testing procedures for examining the external features of the document before even considering the content is to uncover frauds or forgeries, among other problems. Internal evaluation of a document is to ascertain the accuracy and worth of the material.

1.10. Procedural Issues

Some authors such as Drever (1995) caution against preparing over-ambitious research schedules or guide and thus compromising on efficiency or competence in using it. I feel my interview guide was one of the sources of difficulty during the fieldwork because it had many questions and in some interviews it took longer time than envisaged. I felt this was one problem I became conscious about during the interviews, and therefore felt it was an ethical issue.

In procedural terms I must have imposed on the participants who were enthusiastic to take part in the interviews, but who apparently lost that interest gradually as the interview time went beyond one hour. Evening time interviewing was worse. At times as the interview got longer, I felt I had to speed up the session by not insisting on probes and prompts or follow up questions and comments. On the side of participants, they tended to signal time length, fatigue, and reduced enthusiasm by giving short answers or even passing some questions. This behaviour contrasted with responses at the beginning of interviews, particularly with participants who were eager and highly

interested in talking about the subjects in the interview schedule (I will provide examples data to illustrate these behaviours).

Problems relating to interviewing relations, acquaintances, or friends are well documented (e.g. Seidman, 1991). I am aware of the potential problems to the study posed by making contacts with friends and acquaintances. In addition to missing the development from scratch, what Seidman calls “interviewing relationship” (Seidman, 1991:33), the perils of easy contacts with potential interviewees include distortion of the interview process because of likely interference from the existing relationship. There is also the possibility of insufficient exploration of the issues since the participant and the researcher “assume they understand each other” (ibid), and therefore are likely to take what they are discussing for granted. This might result in incomplete information or data. In the context of qualitative research, the criterion of in-depth interviews has not been fulfilled. However, my defence in this matter was that, as the qualitative research design in this study allowed for interviewing key informants, and given the constraints of time and other resources in this study, I had no option but to interview some of my former university colleagues (among the teaching staff), my former teachers, and members of the SPLM.

1.11. Conclusion

In the foregoing discussions on research design and methodology for this study, I explained the reasons for foregrounding the methodology chapter as well as the benefits of this arrangement to the thesis for this study of educational language policy in Sudan which was conceived and carried out in extra-ordinary conditions. The context and theoretical underpinnings of qualitative methodology and its relevant methods and strategies such as interviewing and analysis of historical evidence were explained. I also explained the procedures, constraints and limitations involved in preparing and conducting research interviews. It was also necessary to explain some pertinent procedural issues in an attempt to raising awareness about matters usually taken for granted in interviewing research, for example, problems posed during tape recording. These include interference of gadgets especially in places where power cuts are common and poor quality of recording where there is uncontrollable background noise. At this juncture in the discussion of the methodology chapter, I feel that I have covered sufficient practical ground and have prepared the methodological

frameworks necessary for the discussion of the Sudan's language situation, historical and current, the post-independence language policy of the central government (the Arabicisation policy), and the implications of that policy for the status and role of indigenous languages in Southern Sudan. However, it is important to make it clear here or reiterate the point here that the data, especially the information, ideas and views from my informants are not to be regarded as absolute truth or evidence on the language situation under discussion in the thesis. Rather, they are useful information which helped me understand the situation better. Before I embark on the analyses and discussions of the historical and socio-political conditions that impacted on the current language situation in Sudan, it is necessary to establish the context of this research study. Chapter 2 is therefore dedicated to the description of multilingualism which is a central defining feature of the Sudan's language situation.

Chapter 2

Multilingualism as Context for the Description of Language Situation

2.1. Introduction

Chapter 2 is dedicated to establishing multilingualism as the context for this study of educational language policy in Sudan. The development of Chapter 2 begins with the definition of language situation in the context of multilingualism, and types of language situations are described. Multilingualism itself is defined and its various aspects described in post-colonial contexts since societal multilingualism is associated with specific territories or states. This is followed by a discussion of factors which contribute to the incidence and shaping of multilingualism. In order to appreciate power relations between language groups, individuals and institutions in the multilingual situation under study, and to have various explanatory frameworks subsequent to the analysis of the language situation and the discussion of educational language policy and planning in Sudan, a number of pertinent sociolinguistic terms and concepts including nation, state, nation-state and their derivatives, as well as notions such as mother tongue and diglossia are discussed.

2.2. Sociolinguistic Study of Language Situations in Multilingual Contexts

2.2.1. Definition of Language Situation

Citing Ferguson (1966), McNab (1989) defines language situation as

“the total configuration of language use at a given time and place, including such data as how many and what kinds of languages are spoken in the area by how many people, under what circumstances, and what the attitudes and beliefs about languages held by the community are” (McNab, 1989:8).

As it refers to the area of language distribution, the number of speakers, the number and kinds of languages spoken, and where they are spoken, this definition underlines multilingualism as an important aspect of language situation study. Who speak those languages and the attitudes and beliefs held by the speakers and the circumstances in which languages are used, as the definition shows, are also crucial. In some studies, the determination of aims and objectives of language situation studies or surveys, and periods when languages were spoken are also important for studying any changes that might have occurred to the language (community) or languages in question over time.

Moreover, as Jernudd (1979) correctly suggests, time element or ‘when’ should be added to the list of guiding sociolinguistic questions above to underline the importance of time factor in the shaping of a language situation. The discussion of language situation below will invariably include the elements in this definition.

2.2.2. Types of Language Situation in Multilingual Contexts

Language situations depend on socio-political realities on the ground, especially in multilingual areas, where they seem to perpetuate lives of their own. What is needed when dealing with language situations is to place them into contexts so that it is possible to locate the status and position of particular languages, and in order to more productively deal with them. To achieve this end, sociolinguists have devised ways of describing and differentiating amongst types of language situations in multilingual societies which are invaluable for guiding language policy and planning. The following two examples of types of multilingual situations illustrate the discussion.

The examples describe types of language situations through a general sociolinguistic formula (Mansour, 1993) and by grouping multilingual countries in Africa (Bamgbose, 2000) are given to shed more light on the discussion on language situation. As Mansour (ibid) suggests emphasis in the examples should be on functional roles of languages in multilingual contexts (Mansour, 1993, p 16). By this suggestion Mansour is echoing Stewart (1972) and Cooper (1989) who discussed in detail the status and functional roles of languages in status language planning. Social data such as number of speakers of languages in specific language situations, the distribution of those languages and information about the use of lingua francas, and ethnic composition of administrative areas are also relevant language situation materials. These elements are helpful for understanding language situation which is necessary for decision making on language policy and planning. Based on Mansour (ibid), a sociolinguistic formula for describing multilingual situations in general can be described in terms of:

- i) Majority language which is spoken by more than 50% of the total population of a country, or a language which is widespread because it is a national lingua franca.
- ii) Sub-national lingua francas or languages spoken more widely in specific areas although they have relatively small number of speakers compared to the national total.

- iii) Minority languages category describes situations where languages have small native speakers community of may be less than 10% of the national total population.
- iv) Special status languages refer to the non-indigenous languages such as the former colonial and present official languages which will continue to function as educational and public communication media. Some of those languages such as Arabic is used for religious purposes.

A few comments will clarify some of the problems associated with the points in the sociolinguistic formula described above. Regarding type one, Mansour (bid, p. 25) correctly explains that many African countries have no majority mother tongues which fit the 50% mark. However, a situation which involves a widespread lingua franca exist, and is exemplified by the dominance of Swahili in Tanzania, a mother tongue of only 10% of the population. Similarly, dominant former colonial languages like English and French are spoken by less than 10% of the populations in the former colonies in Africa, but their functional value give them dominance over widespread indigenous languages including some like Hausa with a status of regional lingua francas. These examples render the 50% measure for a language to attain the majority status problematic, in that the indigenous languages, such as Wolof in Senegal and Dinka in Sudan, which are spoken by a substantial numbers, may be submerged by the imported languages. But a point should be raised regarding ethnolinguistic homogeneity or monolingual situations in regions or districts in an overall multilingual country versus situations where such districts are as linguistically diverse as the country itself (see Mansour, 1993, p. 17). In the second type, there is no clear dominant language, the sub-national lingua francas assume public communication roles in multilingual societies and should therefore be promoted. The third type in the sociolinguistic formula describes languages used only for in-group communication so that in the context of language planning they “would have the lowest priority in the competition for scarce funds to develop languages for education and other public functions” (Mansour, 1993:16).

Like Mansour, Bamgbose focuses on examples of types of language situation in Africa and found that apart from 10 “virtually monolingual” countries out of a total of 47, three types of multilingual countries characterise the remaining 37 African countries south of the Sahara. These are:

- Multilingual countries with a dominant language, for example, Tanzania (Swahili), Senegal (Wolof) and Zimbabwe (Shona).
- Multilingual countries with more than one dominant language, for example Nigeria, DR Congo, Kenya, and Ethiopia.
- Multilingual countries that do not have dominant language, for example, Cameroon, Ivory Coast and Sierra Leone (see Bamgbose, 2000, p. 99).

I think Arabic in Sudan should be added to the list of dominant languages in type one above even though Bamgbose (2000) has not included it as one of the typical examples. Two reasons may explain this omission. One reason is the domination of political power in Sudan by ruling Arab elites who also espouse religious and cultural hegemony. As a result of this power domination, Sudan is often identified or rather misrepresented as an Arab, North African and Middle Eastern country and rarely as a sub-Saharan African nation. I believe Bamgbose has based his omission of Arabic and Sudan in type one above on data obtained from sources influenced by the Middle Eastern orientation of Sudan. The second reason is that after independence the colonial language policy was changed in favour of Arabic as the ‘national’ official language of the country. This places Sudan in the first type of multilingual countries in Africa. The other two types of multilingual countries in Africa represent most of the multilingual situations in the continent.

The relevance of language policy and planning to the above discussion on language situation is worth mentioning. As Bamgbose (ibid) correctly argues, African multilingualism described above poses challenges in relation to language policy and planning. Problems such as choice of official languages, role of minority languages, place of bilingualism in the language policy, and meeting the cost of language development and promotion (Bamgbose, p. 100) are some of the relevant difficulties. These problems get more difficult to tackle as one moves through the three point multilingual countries typology. Moreover, in addition to the problems posed by colonial legacy on language policy decisions affecting the choice of official language and medium of education, “existence of a dominant language is no guarantee that formulation of a language policy will be trouble-free” (ibid), and “the combined strength of minority languages can be formidable” (ibid) as shown in some African

countries like Ghana and Nigeria where minority languages account for 44% and 36.4% respectively of these nations population. The types of multilingual situations described above suggest a definition of multilingualism to which we now turn.

2.3. Definition of Multilingualism in Post-Colonial Contexts

Current sociolinguistic literature describes multilingualism as the use of more than one language in a polity (Stewart, 1972), or “the practice of using alternately three or more languages” (Beardsmore, 1982:2, citing Weinrich, 1953). Some scholars emphasise individual competence in particular languages in the definition of multilingualism. Others refer to language situation in a particular country (Clyne, 1997:301). These definitions imply both societal and individual multilingualism. The above definitions and reference to competence also apply to bilingualism (see Beardsmore, 1982, p. 2). Romaine (1989) points out societal relevance in the definitions of multilingualism when she cites Hakuta who

“believes that the field should deal not only with the bilingual individual, but also the circumstances surrounding the creation of bilingualism and its maintenance and attrition” (Romaine, 1989:11).

The above definitions may not however sufficiently explain the complex multilingual situations found in post-colonial countries in Africa for example. Mansour (1993) and Bamgbose (2000) try to respond to this concern by suggesting descriptions of multilingualism which are relevant to the language situations in developing multilingual countries.

Bamgbose (2000) focuses on multilingualism as a major factor in the formulation of language policy and in drawing plans for its implementation in the context of post-colonial countries in Africa. He cites an AU (formerly OAU) definition of multilingualism which focuses on individual competence. According to this document, multilingualism is “the mastery and use of several languages by individuals for purposes of communication” (Bamgbose, 2000:121). Mansour (1993) gives a more detailed description of multilingualism in relation to its opposite, monolingualism, which according to her can be defined loosely or precisely from the perspective of larger political units like nations or countries. When they are precisely

defined the terms tend to describe ideal situations, but they tend to give realistic picture when they are loosely defined, suggesting that it may not be necessary to state the relationship between language and society in black and white. For example ideally, “monolingualism should refer to those situations where one language is the only means of communication at all levels of social interaction” (Mansour, 1993:1). Few so-called monolingual countries including Britain and France fit into this description because in reality several minority languages, indigenous and migrant languages alike are spoken within their borders. In other words complete assimilation of minorities into the dominant English language and culture, with concurrent elimination of languages and cultures from their countries of origin, has not been successful in these nations. As Mansour correctly puts it therefore,

“a country’s claim to being monolingual is based on the fact that the language of the overwhelming majority (or dominant minority) is the only official language” (Mansour, 1993:2; my emphasis).

In many situations it is the language of the powerful and dominant ethnolinguistic group regardless of its numerical strength or size that is imposed to satisfy the claim to monolingual national language policy. This latter condition defines the situation in most post-colonial developing countries, notably in Africa where minority and /or marginalised groups are obliged to learn imported or imposed official languages.

Similarly, a loose definition of multilingualism applies to West European countries like Switzerland with more than two official languages and stable language situations. Clyne (1997) adds Belgium and Canada as examples of bilingual and multilingual nations, which highlight the voluntary federation factor in creation of multilingual societies. These three countries are also good examples of official multilingualism within which *de facto* monolingualism operates, as their populations tend to use officially declared languages for government records, administration and business, but use other varieties at home and community. This fact is worth noting as a point of difference between conditions under which bilingualism or multilingualism operates in the Western nations and in the developing countries of Africa for example. German, French and Italian Swiss people are more likely to be using their respective native languages in their cantons, and the French and English Canadians varieties of each of these respective languages at home and immediate communities while

officially they display bilingual and multilingual behaviours (Clyne, *ibid*; and Mansour, 1993). Meanwhile in countries that are linguistically diverse, for example in Africa, multilingualism is defined in terms of one super-imposed official language, with minor roles accorded the other languages (*ibid*). In the context of this study the later explanations of multilingualism are interesting, and we need to find out whether or which of the descriptions defines the language situation in Sudan.

Further to the above discussions of multilingualism, Skutnabb-Kangas (1988), from minority language and education rights perspective, refers to a multilingual country as a country where several languages are spoken natively within its borders, and a multilingual person as one who knows several languages. She also suggests an elaborate definition of bilingualism, which, along the lines of the definition of mother tongue below, may be intended to provide sociolinguistic answers to some of the language related problems in society. Skutnabb-Kangas (*ibid*) defines bilingualism (which definition also applies to multilingualism) in terms of origin, competence, function, and identification. Origin refers to the fact that an individual has: a) learned two languages in the family from native speakers from the beginning; b) used two languages in parallel as means of communication from the beginning. Competence means several things including mastery, native-like control and equal mastery of two languages. Function refers to individual use of two languages in most situations as they wish and as demanded by the situation. And finally an individual identifies himself internally as bilingual with two languages or two cultures, and externally identified by others as a native speaker of two languages. This descriptive analysis of bilingualism or multilingualism provide more concrete reference points for understanding these concepts than mere mention of use of more than one, two, three languages, or competence in such a language(s). So we have different categories of bilingual or multilingual individuals ranging from those who are competent and do function effectively in more than one language, to those who identify with those languages even if they are not competent in them. The ability of individuals or groups including governments to choose and use languages for different purposes in the same situation is considered under the concept of diglossia which I describe below after delineating the essential aspects of societal multilingualism. All the above definitions and descriptions of multilingualism provide useful frameworks for discussing

educational language policy and planning in linguistically diverse societies such as the Sudan in this study.

2.4. Factors which Shape Societal Multilingualism

Current sociolinguistic literature (e.g. Fasold, 1989; and Clyne, 1997) indicates that several factors including migration, imperialism, federation, international border areas and the spread of international languages, not to forget the role of language policy and planning, are not only causes of multilingualism, but they result in different patterns of this phenomenon. Fasold (1989:9) suggests that, migration contributes to national multilingualism in two ways. One, when a large language community expands its territory by moving into the adjacent areas, and two, when small numbers of ethnic group members move into a territory already under the control of another nationality. In the first example the expanding group takes control over smaller sociocultural groups in the new settlements. Linguistic if not cultural assimilation of the smaller or less dominant groups into the dominant society is inevitable in this case although by no means all the communities or groups can be assimilated, which result in multilingualism. Fasold (ibid) cites as examples of incomplete assimilation of nationalities such as Catalonians in Spain, Bretons in France and various native-American groups. In the second kind of migration, smaller groups of immigrants add to the host nation's multilingualism as long as they continue to speak their native languages. Immigrants from developing countries into the US and Britain are a good example.

Imperialism as a factor in multilingualism takes three forms: colonisation, annexation and economic control (Fasold, 1989). Colonisation of overseas territories in Africa, Asia and Latin America by European powers resulted in the spread of imported European languages, and has added to multilingualism in the respective areas under the control of imperialist powers. Annexation of large areas of the Baltic republics into the former Soviet Union after the Second World War is a good example of modern imperialist action which resulted in the spread of additional languages. The annexation of those states led to the spread of Russian, the dominant and official language of the union. The economic form of imperialism is a factor in the spread of multilingualism in conditions where a country adopts a language associated with or perceived to have economic advantages as an official language. Fasold (ibid p.10)

cites Thailand as a good example of a multinational state which did not undergo the experience of colonization but where English has been taught for economic reasons and as a result the language is now wide spread among a sizable number of the population. The three explanations confirm Fasold's suggestion that in colonisation and annexation the imperialist language is used in government and education, and that the necessity for economic adoption of such a language is often international cooperation and diplomacy.

As a factor in multilingualism, federation, which refers to the union of diverse nationalities or ethnic groups under the political control of one state (see Fasold, 1989, p 11), is either forced as when it results from colonisation and annexation of territories as in the case of European colonisation of Africa and Asia communities, or voluntary as in the cases of Switzerland, Belgium and Cameroon. The Cameroonian case of voluntary federation is not based on indigenous languages though. Rather, the state takes two former colonial languages, French and English as the basis of its federation. Although, as Fasold (ibid) observes, historically multilingual states created by force rose and fell in Europe, it is the language situations of ex-colonial states in Africa that provide valid evidence or example of forced federation as a cause of multilingualism. One direct outcome of colonial action that has had lasting effect on language situation in Africa is that ethnic affinities of the people were not taken into account when decisions to draw boundaries were made in Berlin in 1884 and subsequently translated into physical territorial control on the ground when actual colonisation process started.

“As a result, many colonies brought together sociocultural and linguistic groups under a single administration that had never had a common government before and may never have become part of the same nation if left to themselves” (Fasold:11).

The de facto federation of sociocultural groups in Africa, many of whom never had a say in their political destiny has been the result of both imperialism and forced federation. In many of those countries the resultant political problems have their underlying historical and structural causes traced to the denial of linguistic and cultural rights. This has left the linguistically diverse African countries with the necessity of building multiethnic nations as a solution to the problems, with multilingual language policies reflected in their nation-building strategies.

Furthermore, International border areas and spread of international languages or LWC as factors in multilingualism have noteworthy effects on language situations. Whereas the spread of international languages, such as English, French, Spanish and Portuguese in many parts of the developing world is linked to colonialism, teaching these languages in schools as part of education and learning as well as cultural development and international co-operation between independent nations has far reaching effects on language situations in many countries. First, the boundaries of former colonial states were drawn arbitrarily and thus brought together ethnolinguistic and sociocultural groups which would not have been under one administration. The outcome of this colonial decision had been de facto federation of these groups who were not given any choice. A further result of the colonial action was that many of the federated states remained federations after independence. In some cases however, nationalities in those forced federations, like Bangladesh (former East Pakistan) sought independence and succeeded, but others like Biafra in Nigeria have failed to secede, while some more others like Southern Sudan are struggling for self-determination and/or secession. It is worth mentioning that lack of a multilingual language policy is the main reason behind the struggle of these sociocultural groups to secede. This begs the challenge for the newly independent countries to develop language policies that aim at building multiethnic states rather than multinational ones (Fasold, 1989), or guaranteeing identity and power access rights of so-called minorities (Mansour, 1993) which are often denied them by means of language policy in the first place. These facts render the former European colonies good examples of forced federation which exercise linguistic imperialism. Their language policies continue to produce individuals who feel “disinherited” on account of the fact that native speakers of the forced languages monopolise state power (Mansour, 1993:103).

The international and border zones language factor is related to the economic imperialism and ideological and hegemonic forces underlying the so-called international languages. For example, the rise of English to its current status as a pre-eminent international language is related to “the role of Great Britain as a dominant colonial power over the last three centuries” (May 2001:200). Although this historically expansionist position declined when the colonies became independent states, several factors have helped English to maintain world dominance. May (2001)

cites, among others, role of the British Council which promotes English through international cultural cooperation. The socioeconomic and socio-political dominance of USA, and its control of world media and telecommunication has reinforced and maintained the current global position of English (ibid). These factors often allow the languages in question to take advantage of their economic power status. In this sense English and all the dominant languages which are regarded as means of modernisation are not neutral, rather, they tend to be hegemonic, ideological in their mission and carry with them cultural baggage. Phillipson (1992) describes the role of English in relation to the languages it dominates as that of exalting itself and devaluing those other languages.

As for border areas as a cause of language spread from one side of international border to other, several processes are in play. As we have seen in the discussion of forced federation above, since drawing of colonial borders did not take the interests of ethnic groups living in the areas into consideration, the groups themselves continued to use their languages across borders. This phenomenon is a common feature in African border zones. But in the words of Fasold, these people such as the French-speaking people in north-eastern United States who are ethnically closer to Quebec in Canada “are citizens of one country, but members of a sociocultural group based in another” (Fasold, 1989:12). In addition to the drawing of colonial borders which explains forced federation, annexation as a result of war and large groups migration into border areas are other examples that make border areas as a factor in the spread of languages and therefore as causes of multilingualism.

Finally, Clyne (1997) claims that the role of social policies including language policy and planning intended to achieve positive results are behind multilingualism. He observes that the period before World War 1 and between the two wars marked negative attitudes towards multilingualism, but resulted in the promotion of monolingual nation-states in Europe. On the other hand, the 1960s and 1970s marked positive policies, “reflecting a quest for social equity, human rights, and a change from inhibiting structures” (Clyne, 1997:304). This period roughly coincides with the post-independence era for most former colonial countries in African. This was also the period when activities involving language policy and planning increased in those countries.

Clyne (ibid) therefore identifies language planning as a major factor in the promotion or rejection of multilingualism. And within language planning, language policies and community attitudes to languages determine the acceptance or rejection of multilingualism. In other words, existing policies and communicative attitudes determine whether special status is given to one language in which case monolingualism is promoted, or more languages are recognised in which case multilingualism is supported. Where multilingualism is the accepted policy, Clyne (ibid) suggests that the motivating variables are to: promote social equity for all ethnolinguistic groups in the country, facilitate cultural maintenance, ensure political participation for all groups, and enable the harnessing of language resources for economic wellbeing of the country. These motivating factors are recognisable and can be roughly associated with language policies and planning in particular countries. The role of community attitudes mentioned here as a determining factor in language policy and planning is similar to attitudes associated with nationalist and nationist behaviour as we will find out below.

Clyne (ibid) cites Namibia and Singapore as examples of the countries in which some or all of the motivating factors above including language policy decisions were the basis of multilingualism as an official policy. In the case of Namibia for example, only English was chosen as the official language of the country since independence in 1990 making the country *de jure* monolingual although it is *de facto* multilingual (see also Tucker, 1998). It was apparently difficult for the government to choose one or several languages from the nation's many indigenous languages and give them official status. The authorities had *a priori* rejected German and Afrikaans, the former colonial languages, due to what is regarded as their role in the oppression of the Namibian people. Nonetheless, these two ex-colonial languages have been recognised by the state, together with the indigenous African languages, as national languages of Namibia with roles as medium of instruction at primary education level (Tucker, 1998).

By contrast, Singapore language policy indicates that four languages—Mandarin, Malay, Tamil and English are accorded official status. The first three languages obviously represent the linguistic and cultural interests of the related major ethnic

groups in the country, while English is included to play the role of inter-ethnic relations and international communication. The Singapore authorities have also based their decisions at the time on the existing status of the four languages. In relation to the four variables above, the Singapore language policy is an example of multilingualism which fulfil all the four motivating factors. While the inclusion of the three ethnic group languages Mandarin, Tamil and Malay is aimed at ensuring social equity, cultural maintenance and political participation of all the groups, the choice of English is clearly for the purpose of economic welfare and modernisation of the country. The five variables identified above appear to sufficiently explain multilingual educational language policies in Namibia and Singapore as examples of multilingual countries. The above explanation of factors is by no means the only body of explanatory frameworks for language policy and planning in post-colonial situations. Fundamental politico-economic and socio-political concepts such as nation, nationalism, state, and nation-state; and sociolinguistic notions associated with multilingual situations such as mother tongue and diglossia, all of which explain power relations and individual and group identity in society are useful in the subsequent discussions of language policy and planning issues in this study. Below I provide explanations of these concepts.

2.5. Explanation of Relevant Sociolinguistic Concepts

The account above of factors which contribute to the incidence of societal multilingualism in general constitutes one aspect of sociolinguistic features we require for appreciating the complexity of multilingual situations in language policy and planning studies. The relationship between language situation or language and societal politico-economic structures such as ‘nation’/‘nationalism’, and ‘state’/‘nation-state’, likewise necessitates our understanding of these terms. Power and ideology are crucial factors in our understanding of this relationship. As the description of the Sudan’s language situation in Chapters 3 shows, fundamental national identity problems apparently related to educational language policy seem to characterise post-independence Sudan. Based on information from sociolinguistic studies on the Sudanese situation (e.g. Jernudd, 1979; Ayik, 1986; Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992, and Lesch, 1998), the behaviour and attitudes of the Sudanese people to their languages appear to reinforce the North-South dichotomy. The source of these problems could be poor historical power relations between the Southern and Northern

parts of the country. The questions implied in the context of this study and in relation to the discussion below of the relevant terminology are: Is Sudan a 'nation', or a 'nation-state'? And following Blommaert (2006), how effective in the context of language policy in education is the Sudanese state apparatus in the organization and administration of vital services including education? How may language policy contribute to the shaping of future Sudanese state or nation? I believe these basic questions behind the apparent North-South differences necessitate the explanation of the pertinent terminology below.

2.5.1. Nation, State, Nation-State

These terms and their derivatives which will appear in the discussion below are more often used interchangeably, sometimes ambiguously, in the sociolinguistic literature because they are inherently related to each other. Nevertheless attempts have been made by scholars to make sense of them in specific studies. For the purpose of this study I will refer to those explanations in my explanation of these terms, and the internal dynamics that result from the relationships between the concepts and the socio-political factors.

The term 'nation', as Blommaert (2006) and Mansour (1993) rightly observe, is commonly used as a synonym of 'state', country or even society, the most generic of the terms. In this sense the term 'nation' means an entity with defined territory and independent state structure. Variants of this definition in the literature (e.g. Fishman, 1989; Mansour, 1993) share the basic criteria of independent political-territorial unit which tend to describe the contemporary member states of the United Nations. Mansour (ibid) extends this definition to encompass a sense of the term which includes non-politico-economic realities such as cultural and linguistic tenets; citing the Arab nation which is founded on cultural, linguistic and historical bases to illustrate the point. May (2001) emphasises the human factor in the definition the term which seems to be implied in Mansour's reference to cultural and linguistic tenets when he states that the term nation "refers to a group of people who are conscious of forming a distinct community"; in addition to sharing a historic territory or homeland, common history, culture, political destiny and a desire for self-determination (May, 2001:54). May's definition is more comprehensive in that it not only includes politico-economic and cultural criteria which define contemporary world nations, but

it also describes nations in the making, in the modern sense both of the people and specific territory.

May further distinguishes modern nations which invariably also means 'nation-states' by the process of nationalism which they apparently undergo. Nationalism describes "a very specific political and ideological process" (Blommaert, 2006:239) or the beliefs, values and behaviours that people develop as a result of their interest in, support of, and loyalty to nations or nationalities (see Fasold, 1989:2). This explanation implies that 'nation-states' are products of political actions known collectively as nationalism. May (ibid) particularly discusses three distinctions between pre-modern and modern nations which are products of political nationalism. Firstly, modern nations or nation-states are founded on the idea of "universal enfranchisement" (May, 2001:62) which specifies administrative and political representation. Again member states of the United Nations are good examples that support this tenet. Secondly, in modern sense the term nation means both the people living within a nation-state and the nation-state or the territory itself. As May puts it, as a product of political nationalism,

the modern nation is viewed as both a historical cultural-community and a legal-political one, with the latter invariably taking precedence over the former. These two dimensions, and their coalescence in the institutionalised nation-state, are again products of the ideology of political nationalism (ibid).

While it legitimates the construction of a particular sense of national identity for the people who already inhabit their own nation-state, including defence of their sovereignty, "political nationalism also includes the general principle that nations should, if at all possible, possess their own state" (May, 2001:63). It is interesting that this latter principle finds expression in the many nationalist movements in the world that are struggling to secede from oppressive nation-states. Thirdly, modern nations are distinguished by their dependence on bureaucratic state apparatus, capitalist economy, and a high literate scientific culture which is based "on a single and distinctive vernacular language" (ibid). This discussion shows the characteristics of modernisation which contrast with the basis of the pre-modern nations which, as May (ibid) puts it tended to be parochial, largely illiterate and heterogeneous culturally and linguistically.

According to May (2001, p. 55) the term 'state' is defined in the Western social science theory in terms of three basic criteria: a) an entity with political sovereignty over a defined area, b) monopoly of and control over legitimate force, and c) 'terminal loyalty' of citizens who constitute the entity. In this sense like 'nation' the term connotes a broad based society or country in terms of people living in it. On the other hand, as mentioned above 'nation-state' explains the underlying political and ideological motives behind the process which culminates in the convergence of several historical and current nationalist ideologies or nationalism. As May (ibid) explains it is the meeting point between the nation (the emotional idea) and the state (the given territory). He reiterates the points that 'nationalism is primarily a political principle which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent' (May, 2001:55; citing Gellner, 1983). The core principle of political nationalism, as opposed to linguistic nationalism which describes an organic nation defined in terms of language, states that 'the national state, identified with a national culture, including linguistic one, and committed to its protection, is the natural political unit' (ibid). As mentioned above, such an entity is coveted by nationalities, especially those experiencing oppression and domination by powerful groups.

It is important for the purpose of this study to relate these explanations to language situation in Sudan. It is worth recalling that I had alluded to the label that fits the description of the contemporary Sudan in the introduction to this section earlier. The question, based on the foregoing discussion, is whether Sudan is a 'state', 'nation', or 'nation-state'. While I work out the answer to this question below, I would like to begin by agreeing with Mansour's (1993) observation that not all nations followed the same criteria during their formation. She cites the old European nations—France, Spain and Britain as examples to show how nations gradually emerge from states through a long process of assimilation into a dominant language and culture. European nation-states were formed in the 19th and 20th century, notably after the two World Wars as a result of claims by linguistic communities on the basis of cultural and linguistic nationalism (May, 2001). This was based on the principle of nationalities which states that 'each language group, however small, somehow has the right, duty and destiny to become a sovereign state' (Mansour, 1993:105). Narrow interpretation of this principle could create more language related political problems than it would want to solve. The break up of the former Eastern European Bloc, for

example in the former Yugoslavia (Tollefson, 1991) testifies to this correct but problematic definition.

What interests us here is whether these processes are replicated in Africa when the former colonial territories attained political independence. Following Blommaert (2006), the collocation 'nation-state', specifically in relation to post-independence African states does not realistically describe those states. This is because "there are a good number of states where true nationalist project does not exist, or where, in fact, the 'nation' is organised around coercion rather than around ideological consent" (Blommaert, 2006:239). The term that could apply in the cases described in this quote is statism or nationism (Fishman, 1989; Blommaert, 2006). As Fishman suggests, the term refers to the pragmatic approach to the problems of the state whereby the society deals with "the reality of common current interdependence" (Fishman, 1989:108) including governance of a country. But even before African countries could attain the label of 'nation-state' in the true sense of the term, that is to say, as a result of political campaign culminating in nationalism, internal conflict which is partly a result of globalisation, the ushering in of this new era seems to be threatening the existence of the would be 'nation-state'. Blommaert (ibid) explains the dynamics of the relationships in the context of globalisation. What concerns us in that explanation is the point about the viability of the African states: are they functional or nominal, and what does this entail in relation to problems in the language situation notably implementation of sound educational language policies. Citing the African situation, Blommaert (ibid) shows that many states in Africa are merely acknowledged rather than effective. For the nominal states it is not surprising to find that state functions and power are either run by multinational bodies such as UN and its designated organisations like UNICEF for education, WHO for health, and WFP for food supply, or UNDP and World Bank for development. In some cases the state functions and powers are shared between the governments and the international bodies, especially where the country is at war and parts of its territory are beyond the control of the central state. As Sudan has been through this experience, we would like to locate its profile in relation to the three statuses under discussion here.

2.5.2. Locating Sudan's Status within the Definition

On the basis of the explanations above, the current Sudan language situation invariably implicates the 'nation' or 'nation-state' status the country might have claimed since independence for the following reasons. Notwithstanding the apparent political and ideological motives, as well as the interest of the post-independence Arab-dominated Sudanese regimes (since 1956 to date) to establish Arab nationalism in Sudan in the last 50 years as a prelude to a Sudanese nation-state, Sudan as a whole has not achieved the status of a 'nation' or 'nation-state' in the sense given in the definitions above. Writing on this subject in an introduction to Beshir Mohammed Said's book in 1965 in the context of post-colonial Africa states, Colin Legume describes succinctly most newly independent African countries, citing Sudan as a typical example.

“One of the least discussed yet probably the most difficult of the many problems facing post-colonial Africa is that almost everywhere in the continent the modern nation-state was created before the nation was probably formed. Most newly independent countries, therefore have been faced with immediate task of trying to create viable, national societies out of often disparate tribal, ethnic, religious and regional forces. The Sudan is a classical example of a divided nation. It is divided by religion, by ethnic kingship, by region and by history” (cited in Said, 1965:7).

Indeed three defining features seem to have emerged and appear to persist after Sudan's independence in spite of the attempts by the Arab-dominated ruling elites in Khartoum to cover up with official national symbols, namely Arabic language and Islamic religion. These features are:

- 1) a Sudanese 'state' characterised by North-South dichotomies which can be described in political and geographical terms,
- 2) a long political conflict between these two politically established regions which traditionally make up what I regard as the Sudanese 'state' rooted in socio-historical and political transformation of the country described in Chapter 1, and
- 3) cultural and linguistic differences that resulted from those developments.

The underlying factors that seem to deepen the division and differences are usually not publicly acknowledged and discussed in order to find the best solution to them. Absent this approach, the current Sudanese discourse which is borne of the many years of North-South conflict, the dichotomies are normally explained in terms of

other simplistic and divisive formulas such as: a) political regions (Northern versus Southern), b) ethnic and cultural identity (Arab versus African), and c) religious identity (Muslim versus Christian). Based on these divisions and as we will find out later in the description of the Sudanese language situation in Chapter 3, it is perhaps safe to say that Sudan is realistically speaking a 'state' rather than a 'nation-state' or 'nation'. I base my conclusion on the fact that Sudan as a country seems to be composed more of ethno-linguistic communities rather than nations or nationalities. Nationalities in the strict sense of the term are "sociocultural units that have developed beyond primarily local self-concepts, concerns and integrative bonds" (Fishman, 1989:106); or "a group of people who think of themselves as a social unit different from other groups, but not just on purely local scale" Fasold (1989:2). This definition implies that ethnic groups, a term often also used interchangeably with nationalities, are narrower and more localised in their sociocultural development than nationalities. As Fasold (1989) explains, even though in some instances ethnic group means a similar thing to nationality, we need to understand it as a simpler, smaller and more parochial level of sociocultural organisation than nationality. Following Fishman (1972) a state like Sudan with many ethnic groups could build "multiethnic nations", just as those countries composed of nationalities form "multinational states". Moreover, attempts by the Arabised Northern Sudanese society to develop Arabism and Islamism as a Sudanese national identity are often countered or resisted, and the basis of that resistance seems to be orientation to the common African heritage if not nationalism as such, particularly among Southern Sudanese. Furthermore, Sudan is one of the African countries embroiled in conflict and civil wars during most of its 50 years independence period. As a result of this history, Sudan seems to fit well in between the countries described above as 'acknowledged' states and those which are said to be 'functional' in relation to effectiveness of their state apparatus. Although the Sudanese state apparatus is functioning at the centre, and apparently based on the twin ideological direction of Arabism and Islamism, the peripheries due to perpetual conflict and war have variably been under the control of rebel groups, the UN and other multinationals and international NGOs. In such a situation, the existence of a non-fully functional 'nation-state' or 'state' means vital services like education and promotion of language and education policies are not given priority. As a result the language situation in the country continues to be a cause of educational and developmental problems due to lack of sound policy.

2.5.3. Defining Mother Tongue in Multilingual Situations

What features exactly describe the notion of mother tongue: Is it first language or all languages in a speaker's repertoire? The discussion below is intended to throw more light on the issue. The notion of mother tongue is understood in various ways in the sociolinguistic literature. Although Verdoodt (1997) gives a basic definition of mother tongue as "the language learned in early childhood" (Verdoodt, 1997:33), current literature indicates that there are at least two meanings of mother tongue: a restricted and an extended sense both of which suggest that the multilingual contexts in which the term is defined are often not only different but they are also complex (Romaine, 1989). A variety of mother tongue definitions below expand on the above basic version, as well as specify the situation in which a user chooses a language variety among their repertoire when they communicate or identify with either of the languages. The widely cited UNESCO (1953) report accords mother tongue a prominent place in the sociolinguistic literature especially in as far as it addresses the use of mother tongue in the education of so-called minority language groups. It recommends the use of mother tongue, on educational grounds, as the medium of instruction and learning particularly at the start of education, because pupils understand it best and because the use of mother tongue can help maintain the school-community linkages (see Romaine, 1989, p 20). In 2003 (see UNESCO, Education Today Newsletter, 2003), UNESCO highlighted the issue again as part of continuous campaign for mother-tongue education, referring to studies which show that we learn better in our mother tongues. But in schools, political and economic obstacles stand on the way of minority languages. The description of mother tongue here is reminiscent of the definition of vernacular language which refers to the mother tongue as first language acquired by speakers in a multilingual community but later gets submerged by dominant language(s) (Holmes, 2001, p 74). Although this description of mother tongue is valid, many writers working specifically in multilingual situations such as the growing urban centres or cities in developing countries, but generally also in the metropolitan areas in the West, find this definition inadequate for describing the notion of mother tongue.

Current multilingual literature indicates that realities in language communication situations point to the fact that 'much of the world's verbal communication takes

place by means of languages that are not the speakers' mother tongue, but their second, third, or nth language, acquired one way or another and used when appropriate' (Romaine, 1989, p 20). Available evidence from studies in complex multilingual situations shows that individuals need a number of languages for different purposes in their everyday interaction. Holmes (2001, Chapters 2 and 4) shows this by describing the language choice of 16 year old Kalala in Democratic Republic of Congo, and Mr Patel's use of different varieties in a Bombay market situation in India. Similarly, Kamwangamalu (2004) uses the extract below to tell a story of multiple mother tongues of a twenty-three-year-old student from Johannesburg. Moreover, findings on the language use of participants in this study's interviews (discussed in more detail in Chapter 6 and 7), indicate that adults and children exposed to or raised in situations where several languages are used normally within the family and in the wider community including multilingual societies, multilingual urban settings and multilingual homes, acquire and use several languages or mother tongues. Rev Kiriba, a participant in this study's interview describes his language use from childhood to adulthood in changing circumstances, and interestingly pinpoints what he regards as his mother tongue:

Before going to school I spoke my mother tongue Mundu. But during the colonial rule there was a policy that spelt out the major languages of Southern Sudan for education purposes. I happened to grow up in Maridi area where the language of instruction was Zande, so I went to school and learned Zande language. In the wider community, if I were to live in Maridi (I only go for short visits now), I would speak four languages which are common in the area, namely Zande, Moru, Baka and Mundu. In Kenya I use English and a little Swahili whenever I am out side the home....I use English and a little bit of Swahili in my work place here in Kenya (Rev Kiriba, 1-4-2003).

As we can see Rev Kiriba specifically mentions only Mundu as his mother tongue. It seems he does not regard the other languages he has now learned after speaking Mundu as his mother tongues. We will look at this in the context of Skutnubb-Kangas definition of mother tongue below. As for Kamwangamalu's example, the young student has this to say:

'My father's language was Swazi, and my mother's home language was Tswana. But as I grew up in Zulu-speaking area we used mainly Zulu and Swazi at home. But from my mother's side I also learnt Tswana well. In my high school I came into contact with lots of Sotho and Tswana students so I can speak these two languages well' (Kamwangamalu, 2004, p.134; citing Mesthrie,1995).

Unlike the examples of Kalala in Bukavu, Congo, Mr Patel in Bombay, India, and Rev Kiriba a Southern Sudanese resident in Nairobi, Kenya, where all speak vernacular languages which include their first languages or mother tongues, this statement shows how hard it is to pin point actually which of the languages the student speaks is his mother tongue. The examples above show that the most important lesson we can learn from these contexts is that mother tongue definition has to be situation-specific or contextualised if it is to be useful in the discussion of educational language policy in multilingual situations. It is not hard to infer that the complexity of language situations in these descriptions reflect the complexity of mother tongues of the individual language user in a multilingual situation. Below Skutnabb-Kangas suggests a definition which accounts for all languages in a speaker's repertoire as their mother tongues.

2.5.3.1 Viewing Mother Tongue from Language Rights Perspective

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) defines mother tongue from minority language and education rights perspective. The rationale for such a definition includes the fact that such a definition may help to clarify to educators the mother tongues of their pupils for better delivery of language teaching resources. Knowing mother tongues of various groups in a multilingual country or region is also needed for the purposes of delivering official or public services like census and various other services that require language or mother tongue as a criterion. The definition also addresses power relationships between language communities and seems diagnostic. In Skutnabb-Kangas own words, the definition

“gives us an opportunity to assess whether minority and majority mother tongues have the same rights or whether dominant mother tongues are granted more institutional support” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000: 106; also see 1988, p.16 for details).

In short the definition can assess the degree of human rights accorded to language communities in multilingual situations. This includes legal and regulatory cover including human rights, which in concrete sense translates into use of dominant languages in such public areas as day care centres, schools, universities, work places and media. Based on the inclusive context of multilingualism, Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988, p16; also in 2000, p106) distinguishes between four different criteria, namely

origin, identification, competence and function, in her definition of mother tongue which I reproduce in Table 1 below.

Table 2: Showing definitions of mother tongue. Source: Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p 106.

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Skutnabb-Kangas (ibid) provides four explanations of the above definition as follows: First, the same person can have different mother tongues depending on the definition used. Second, a person's mother tongue can change several times during their life time according to all the definitions except the one by origin. According to the definition by origin and identification and the other definitions, a person can have several mother tongues. Fourth and finally, the five mother tongue definitions can be placed in hierarchical order according to their importance or in relation to the ability of each definition in explaining the degree of linguistic human rights awareness in a society. This degree of human rights awareness can be assessed "by examining which definition(s) the society uses in its institutions, explicitly and implicitly" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000:108). Mass media and education are such language using institutions in which sensitivity to the language rights of minority groups is measured. Based on the degree of human rights and power relationship mediated through language, I tend to share Skutnabb-Kangas's view that the definitions by competence and function promote linguisticism as minority children and adults are usually forced to use a dominant or majority language other than their mother tongues. On the other hand, a combination of definition by origin and identification do show "the highest degree of awareness of linguistic human rights" (ibid, p 110). This is perhaps because in multilingual situations, the mother tongue or mother tongues are the language(s) one

has learned first and identifies with. It follows that any failure to appropriate such language(s) as medium of education for example would be noticed.

The latter definition contains some problems which Skutnabb-Kangas (ibid) points out and discusses in the context of two further explanations which we need to take note of. First explanation is that it is possible to claim mother tongue by identification, even if, for example, one knows very little or a bare minimum of the language. Mother tongue by origin and identification implies that the languages learned first and identified with can be one and the same. As Skutnabb-Kangas, suggests, for reasons involving exogamous marriages for example, mother tongue definition

“have to be rethought so as to allow for situations where parents and children may not have the same mother tongue, especially by origin” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000:111).

Other situations include where mother tongue by origin may not be learned in infancy, is a lost language, and where not one or two discrete languages but multilingualism is the mother tongue, but still claimed by virtue of the definition by origin and identification. Second explanation concerns the importance of power relations as I mentioned above.

“What is accepted as somebody’s mother tongue is crucially dependent on who has the right to define it. Mother tongues are relations to be negotiated, not (only) characteristics that people possess, and relations depend on who has more power” (ibid).

The view here that such notions as mother tongue are not possessions of speakers but acquired social constructs dependent on relations is a useful clarification in the definition of mother tongue in multilingual situations.

I find the definitions discussed above sufficiently critical and seem diagnostic and therefore a useful model in the discussion of mother-tongue aspects of the educational language policy in this study. In Sudan in general and Southern Sudan in particular mother tongue is the first language that a child acquires from his/her monolingual parents and from an immediate monolingual community. Other languages learned after the mother tongue are regarded as second, third, etc, or even second language, official language and lingua franca (Ouane, 2003, Annex 1 on ‘The languages of sub-Saharan Africa’ showing, among other things their status). This characterisation

describes most of the largely rural Sudan and Southern Sudan language communities in particular. These communities have maintained their indigenous languages or mother tongues due to historical and geographical reasons explained in Chapter 1, and within an overarching multilingual Sudanese society. This traditional sense of mother tongue is represented by the definitions by origin and by identification in the Skutnabb-Kangas's definition. My observations on the definition of mother tongue in relation to the sociolinguistic situation in Southern Sudan in particular gives credence to the six theses discussed by Skutnabb-Kangas above according to which the combination of the definition by origin and identification shows the highest degree of linguistic human rights awareness. The kind of situation involving multiple use of mother tongues and/or first, second, third etc languages discussed here, which exists in Sudan and in many countries in Africa, often evolves into forms of diglossia, a sociolinguistic strategy to cope with the demands of language use and inter-group communication within the state.

As in the UNESCO comment on the situation of mother-tongue use in schools above, not only are there economic and political obstacles to the realisation of Skutnabb-Kangas's ideas, which I share, but sociolinguistic factors (Blommaert, 2001; 2005) added to the political and economic variables (Kamwangamalu, 2004; Granville, et al, 1998) show that reality in specific language situations (knowing that the essence of language policy and planning is contingency), does not support the implementation of the language right paradigm. In post-Apartheid South Africa (Granville, et al, *ibid*), and despite the language policy laws, parents choose or prefer English medium education for their children, mainly for economic reasons. Kamwangamalu (*ibid*) show that in the same South Africa situation, economic reasons indicate that English has the power to attract candidates to invest in it than the indigenous and the other languages. Blommaert (*ibid*) argues that sociolinguistic realities in Africa for example dictate that pragmatic approach to language policy and planning is better than basing policies on language rights alone. All these critical look at the mother-tongue or minority rights education mean that rights alone is necessary but not a sufficient condition on which to base a country's language policy.

2.5.4. Diglossia, Multilingualism and Power Relations

Since it was introduced into the sociolinguistic literature in 1959 by Ferguson the term diglossia has evolved in its meaning. Originally, it refers to the use in a more or less stable situation of 'two or more varieties of the same language by some speakers under different conditions' (see Whiteley, 1971:2 and also Giglioli 1972). This original version is explained in terms of varieties of the same language existing side by side in a speaker's repertoire with little overlapping if any, in their usage. Further to the above definition, Fishman (1972) suggests that, language users in multilingual situations make choices among varieties which fall into clearly separate categories that require complementary distribution of language use during communication. As we will find out below, the concept of diglossia has developed in respect of the ever complex multilingual situations to include the more critical notion of double overlapping diglossia or triglossia which shows that diglossia does not just occur but is induced by human agents and seems to explain not only the post-colonial sociolinguistic situations such as those in Africa, but also the West European situations.

Fasold (1987) and Martin-Jones (1989) offer instructive explanations of diglossia in terms of power relations. This perspective clarifies the importance of diglossia in language policy and planning makes the concept of diglossia a more compelling and relevant context for discussing multilingualism and language policy and planning. After acknowledging the earlier versions of diglossia Martin-Jones (1989) points to the fact that diversity does not go hand in hand with complementary distribution and neat pattern of choice. She also contends that it is not possible to isolate linguistic communities defined as "functionally integrated social systems with shared norms of evaluation", when it comes to diglossic usage (Martin-Jones, 1989:108).

The point of contention here is apparent ignorance about the role of power as a causal factor in diglossic situations. This missing link can explain the origin of diglossic situations and when these dictate use of languages varieties. Fasold (1987) refers to the notion of "double overlapping diglossia" (Fasold, 1987:44), after studying a Tanzanian version, triglossia, developed by Abdulaziz Mkilifi in 1978. This version, which explains, to a high degree of precision, most situations in post-colonial Africa is based on three languages: an indigenous language or mother tongue, an indigenous

lingua franca (Swahili), and an international language (English) which is the language of the ex-colonial power. This version of diglossia is also referred to as triglossia (see Fasold, 1987). Citing Mkilifi (1978), Fasold (ibid) explains triglossia as a ‘situation of intersection between two developing diglossia situations, one involving Swahili and some vernacular, and the other involving Swahili and English’ (see Fasold, 1987:45). Figure 1 below explains the phenomenon of double overlapping diglossia.

Figure 1: Showing Double Overlapping Diglossia in Tanzania. Source: Fasold, 1987, p 45.



As Martin-Jones (1989) emphasises in her explanation of the European situation below, there is no doubt in her explanation as to the role of historical-structural factors in the making of double over-lapping diglossia or triglossia. Also the colonial order imposed both the federated community of diverse peoples and their language on Tanzanians who at the same time had to internally communicate in a lingua franca of African origin, Swahili. The Tanzanian experience can be generalised not only to many African states, but is reminiscent of similar conditions in pre-World War II Europe before the formation of the existing nation-states. In this context, Martin-Jones refers to the term ‘sociolinguistics of the periphery’ (Martin-Jones, 1989:119) which was developed by researchers on bilingualism working in the contexts of Spain, France and Britain, when they applied conflict theory to explain the relationships between the centres and regions, in as far as language hegemony was concerned. Basically the term has two meanings. In one sense “it emphasises the need to situate the study of sociolinguistic fortunes of indigenous minority languages within a centre-periphery model of political and economic relations”; and in another sense it “highlights the concern of these researchers with the social impact of their work: they see their research as a means of contributing to the struggle for the rights of linguistic minorities” (ibid). Martin-Jones concludes that as in the case of Tanzania where colonialism contributed to the diglossia situation, in the European context ‘Diglossia does not arise; it is imposed from above in the form of an administrative, ritual or

standard language. By virtue of its political and economic status, this language becomes requisite (is needed) for access to power and mobility within the society' (Martin-Jones, 1989:120; my emphasis). The role of ideology in this kind of situation cannot be over emphasised. As it treats social issues as commonsense, ideology works in both ways: it facilitates the promotion of the dominant imposed language among indigenous speakers, and at the same time helps to down grade the local languages of those involved.

2.6. Conclusion

I have defined, explained, described and discussed in Chapter 2 the key theoretical underpinnings which are useful for understanding the evolution of language situation in this study of educational language policy in Sudan. Concepts such as language situation and multilingualism, as well as types of multilingual situations, factors which promote the phenomenon of multilingualism and the resultant language situations, the nature of state, defining features of languages spoken in it (mother tongues etc.), and communication styles (diaglossia or triglossia) are defined and explained.

With reference to types of language situations I have shown how typical multilingual situations can be defined by the level of language development measured, for example, in terms of degree of standardisation and literary status of languages, as well as by the functions which languages in such situations perform. Key points to the discussion of language situation and multilingualism by Mansour (1993) and Bangbose (2000) are noted. Few multilingual developing countries the world over and in Africa specifically cannot fulfil the 50% mother tongue speakers' mark to qualify for type one in the assumed typology. Moreover, a dominant language group may not have their way too easily to impose their mother tongue on others, as a combined resistance of minority languages can stand against any imposed language. Mansour's loose definitions of monolingualism and multilingualism explain clearly the ideology of domination through language policy. By juxtaposing monolingualism against multilingualism in specific situations, one can see the paradox of the real situation: Officially monolingual France, or Sudan, is in actual fact multilingual in terms of language behaviour of its inhabitants; and officially multilingual Switzerland is monolingual within local territories. A further insightful theoretical highlight in the

definitions of multilingualism comes from Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) who links contexts of situations such as origin, function etc to the definition. Thus one may be multilingual because originally one learned two or more languages at the same time. Of the factors that help in the making and promotion of multilingualism, migration and language policy and planning are highlighted for the simple reason that they relate directly to this study, and may therefore provide useful insights. Miller and Abu-Manga's (1992) study of rural migrants from Southern and Western Sudan to the Arabic-speaking Northern Sudan indicates learning of Northern colloquial Arabic as an additional language to the original mother tongues and other languages such as Juba Arabic already spoken by many Southern immigrants for example. The explanations of language policies in Namibia and Singapore are instructive. Finally, two more points should be mentioned in this conclusion. Definitions of mother tongue, diaglossia and triglossia equally inform the cause of this study, that is, formulation of an educational language policy. They clarify the complex multilingual conditions obtaining in Sudan. For another thing, explanations of mother tongue, for example, act as language rights in education indexes in multilingual countries such as Sudan where those rights are denied by the Arabic-speaking ruling elites after independence. With regards to definition of relevant terminology e.g. state, nation, etc, I contend that Sudan, after all, is a state rather than a nation or nation-state, contrary to the posture accorded it by, among other symbols, its post-independence educational language policy. This finding should inform recommendations for a new and inclusive educational language policy for the country fifty years after independence (1956-2006). These concluding remarks lead us to the discussion of the post-independence language situation in Sudan.

Chapter 3

Analysis of Historical and Socio-Political Developments in the Sudan's Language Situation

3.1. Introduction

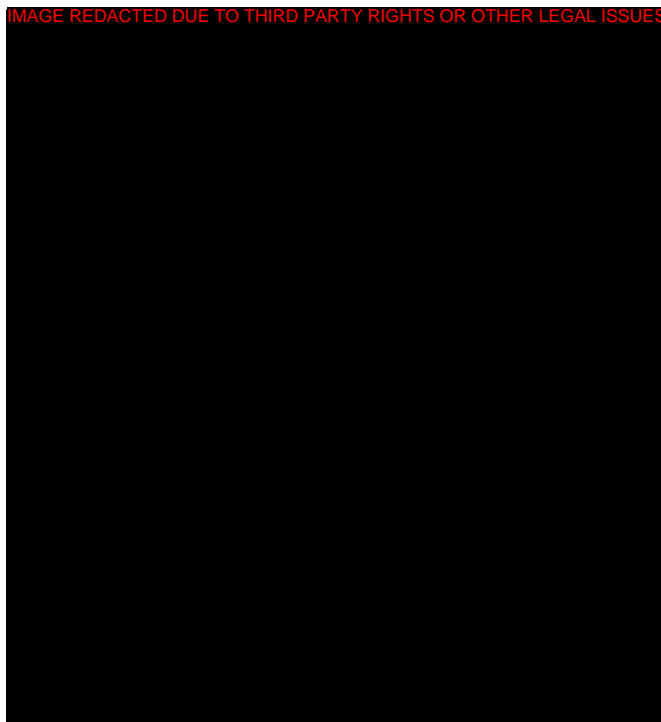
After explaining the basic sociolinguistic concepts in Chapter 2, I now embark on the analysis of historical and socio-political developments in the language situation in Sudan. Several historical and socio-political events and factors that helped their occurrence are discussed, with view of their influence on the language situation in Sudan, notably those relating to commercial and trade activities, as well as military activities (Mahmud, 1983; and Hasan, 2002). The effects of those factors in the formation and transformation of the erstwhile ethno-linguistic groups in the country are noted. In the Northern Sudan for example, the process seems to have resulted in the assimilation of several hitherto indigenous African ethnic groups into a new Arabised and Islamised Northern Sudanese society. The resultant socio-political and sociolinguistic developments brought about by these changes are noted. Current ethno-linguistic composition of the Sudanese society, North and South, is outlined to show the post-independence sociolinguistic state of the Sudanese people. Political, administrative and educational developments—colonial and post-colonial—in both the North and South of Sudan that had a bearing on the language situation in general and educational language policy and planning in particular are discussed. The discussions particularly aim to show that the current north—south dichotomy, not only in the description of the differential physical and cultural features, in educational language policy and planning issues, but also in the social and political power relationships, including the conflicts between the two parts of the country, is apparently mainly a result of the relevant historical-structural variables including the geographical and historical factors mentioned above. I begin the discussion by statement of historical and socio-political facts about Sudan.

3.2. A Country Overview and Analysis of Historical and Socio-Political Developments

The name 'Sudan' is derived from the Arabic 'bilad al Sudan' which translates as land of the black people. This was originally a generic term used by Arab travellers in the

12th –14th century AD to describe the people inhabiting that geographical area (Sudan Zone) in northern Africa that now includes the Republic of Sudan. The historical Sudan Zone extends across Africa from the Red Sea in the east to the Atlantic in the west covering the north-central Africa Savannah belt. Its northern and southern limits roughly coincide with the end of the Sahara Desert to the north and Equatorial rain forest to the south. The name was later adopted for the present day Sudan during the Turco-Egyptian colonisation (1821-81) of the territories on the Upper regions of the Nile south of Egypt led to the adoption of the name Sudan. It was also the time when the current borders of the modern Sudan were land-marked.

Map1: Showing Sudan in Africa, its current internal administrative boundaries, and major geographical features of historical importance such as the River Nile.
Source: www.rightsmaps.com/html/sudmap 1.html. 03/09/2004.



The Republic of Sudan (Map 1) is the largest country in Africa covering approximately one million square miles. According to a World Bank report the national population census estimates for Sudan in 2003 is 34.9 million people, with an annual growth rate of 2.6 %. While the UNDP confirms these figures, their Human Development Indicators for 2006 indicate a low adult literacy rate of 59.0% for Sudan, compared to 69.4% for Tanzania. Primary school net enrolment for Sudan is put at 46% compared to 82% for Tanzania. Sudan is characterised by physical, climatic, ethnic, religious and linguistic diversities. Climatic differences are explained

by one major natural factor, i.e. that rainfall dwindles as you move northward down the Nile Valley from the south. In comparison to Northern Sudan Southern Sudan has much rainfall, is more forested, mountainous and is criss-crossed by rivers flowing down into the Nile from the east African highlands and from the Nile-Congo watershed in the west. As a result of the different physical and climatic conditions the inhabitants of southern and northern parts of the country, generally speaking, lead different ways of life. Cattle keeping and rain-fed agriculture define the way of life of the rural majority in Southern Sudan. Therefore, Pastoral, semi-pastoral, semi-nomadic as well as settled agriculturist modes of life tend to predominate in Southern Sudan. Similar economic activities are found in the southern areas of the geographical Northern Sudan, such as Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile. In the desert areas in Northern Sudan however, except for irrigated agricultural projects such as the Gezira in the central Nile Valley, the nomadic and pastoral way of life, based on cows and camel rearing, defines the socio-economic activities of the rural people.

As the above description of the country's characteristic physical features indicate these peoples inhabit a land of great diversity in terms of economic, cultural and linguistic modes of life. Ethnically, the Sudan can be defined simply as a country of two racial groups: the indigenous African and Arab peoples. As the result of several centuries of Arabisation and Islamisation, the greater part of present-day Northern Sudan has been Arabised. As Map 2 below illustrating the distribution of ethnic groups in Sudan will show, the Arab and Arabized Sudanese people are mainly found along the central Nile Valley and in the western and eastern parts of northern Sudan. The map also indicates that the southern parts of the country including the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile regions which share borders with the Southern Sudan, as well as the bulk of the West, are homes to the demographic majority of indigenous African as opposed to Arabised Sudanese people. As a more detailed description of the current ethno-linguistic composition will be dealt with in the description of Sudan's language situation Chapter 4, suffice it to mention here that depending on which classification one takes as a point of reference, Tucker and Bryan (1956; Lesch 1998 cites this source) classify the Sudanese people according to their linguistic groupings into four major ethno-linguistic divisions namely, the Semitic, the Nilotic the Nilo-Hamitic and the Sudanic groups. Greenberg (1960; cited in Nyombe, 1998)

puts them into three major groups namely, Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, and Afro-Asiatic.

3.3. Factors in Ethno-Linguistic Composition and Distribution in Sudan

A description of the current State of ethnic composition and the location in Sudan, North and South of ethnolinguistic groups (Map 2), should augment our understanding of the complexity of the Sudanese language situation in the current period. It is likely to help in highlighting linguistic diversity in Sudan and clarify the basis of power relationships among the different language communities in the country. This discussion may also help explain the relative status of the Sudanese languages and cultures. All these should contribute to facilitating the description of Sudan's language situation in Chapter 4. For the purpose of subsequent intensive discussion of the post-colonial language situation in relation to language policy and planning, I am describing separately the ethnolinguistic groups in the North and South of Sudan.

The extent to which social and physical conditions and socio-economic modes of life of the Sudanese people in their respective areas contributed to linguistic transformation and diversity is an interesting question which the description of background factors that seem to ethnolinguistic formations and maintenance of such boundaries attempts to address. Notwithstanding some of the factors specific to the Sudanese ethno-linguistic situation, Romaine (1994:11) outlines such factors as sufficiently long time period during which “natural processes of change and diversification” produce a variety of languages. Romaine also mentions physical or geographical conditions which act as barriers but at the same time sustained human contact and interaction, and the role of cultural attitudes in fostering and maintaining diversity. According to Romaine (*ibid*) diversity—linguistic and cultural—is consciously used in some societies as a badge of identification and in reaction to issues of identity. Demographic factors such as large or small population and the variables determining their growth in specific areas account for relative linguistic diversity.

In Papua New Guinea for example (Romaine, 1994), population concentration in the coastal lowlands is less than in the highland due to endemic diseases such as malaria which lower population growth, and difficulty in human mobility. Language diversity and variation is higher than in the mountainous areas. When we view this explanation of factors in the specific Sudanese language diversity context, we find that historical, geographical, cultural or religious and political conditions in the North have combined to produce a relatively homogenous Arabic-speaking society.

In the Sudanese context, the overview of the historical formation of the country above indicates that the desert and open savannah grassland conditions might have facilitated the quick movement as well as created suitable settlement conditions in urban centres for the Arab immigrants in the Northern Sudan. The nomadic Arab tribesmen and the traders, who were at the same time agents of the spread of Islam and Arabic language used the camel which they normally rare, and the cow which they newly adopted, as sources of wealth and for roaming the Sudan country side. However, for geographical reasons they could not venture southwards beyond the 10th parallel into Southern Sudan (Collins, 1983). As far as Southern Sudan was concern, both history and geography seem to have conspired and determined its linguistic and cultural destiny in the direction of diversity and variation. The region was not accessible to the forces of modernity until 1841 when Khedive Ismail, the head of the Turco-Egyptian colonial government in Sudan, acquired modern weapons and boat technology to subdue and overcome both the Southern resistance to foreign invasion and clear the grassy barrier on the River Nile to open a navigable route to Southern Sudan (Collins, 1983). Nevertheless, as Romaine (1994) asserts, neither geography nor concentration of people in one area, nor even their isolation can guarantee language uniformity or difference and variation. Yet it seems possible that modern approaches to sociolinguistics such as language standardisation, literacy, use of language as a medium of centralised administrative control and in education and media can reduce linguistic diversity and increase incidence of homogeneity. When these modern techniques are used in the context of language policy and planning as in this study, the outcome is likely to be increased bilingualism or and multilingualism while diversity endures or becomes the established order in the particular language situation.

As a result of the foregoing description of the elements that contributed to the formation of the country, it is apparent that Arabic language and Islamic culture predominate in the North. In the South, on the other hand, it is indigenous African languages and traditional religions or spirituality as well as Christianity, a legacy of British colonialism and Christian Missionary work that are dominant. This social pattern and behaviour, rooted in the history and geography that partly determined the formation of the two parts of the Sudan (Gray and Hasan, 2002, p. 13), has resulted in the North-South dichotomy with political overtones which seem to influence the direction of language in education policy in Sudan. Thus Northern Sudan, due to the assimilating effect of Islam and Arabic language over the contact years since Arab immigration and settlement intensified in the 14th century, has become linguistically less heterogeneous than the southern Sudan. These divisions have two functions. On one hand they make the Sudan a miniature Africa, since they reveal the variation in the ways of life of the Sudanese peoples and support the thesis of this study that argues for a multilingual and multicultural language policy. On the other, they tend to shape the social and political organisation of the Sudanese peoples. In this sense the linguistic and cultural divisions are often the catalysts of the now continuous and intractable social and political differences and bitter conflicts.

The historical Arabisation process, promoted by the work of agents such as Muslim learned-men (Ulama), is given expression in language in education policy with its attendant problems, particularly in Southern Sudan which is the subject of this study. The process has continued since the days of the Baqt non-aggression treaty between Christians and Muslims in Nubia which lasted from 651-652 (Hasan, 2002; p 25). It continued through the era of the centrally located Funj Sultanate at Sennar (1504-1821), and the Turco-Egyptian (1821-1881), the Mahadiya (1881-1898), the Anglo-Egyptian colonial rule (1898-1956) eras to the present independence period. Gray and Hasan (2002), and Trimingham (1965) capture the root causes of the process in the context of the present, or the post-independence period. According to them, Islamization and Arabization resulted in linguistic and cultural assimilation of large sectors of the Sudanese people into Arab tribal structures. The people adopted Arab genealogies and customs, and those who became thoroughly Arabised exchanged their native languages for Arabic (Gray and Hasan, 2002:14). Arabic and Islam therefore became rooted in those parts of the Sudan where Arab nomads first settled before

moving on. Trimingham (1965) describes the processes of Arabisation and Islamisation in terms of cultural change. He suggests that the process of acculturation took place in the form of two parallel processes apparent in the Sudan:

one linguistic and cultural, by which the people of the land acquired Arabic as their language and certain Islamic cultural conceptions and became connected with the Arab tribal system, and the other racial, by which the incoming Arab was absorbed in varying degrees by the people of the land... (Trimingham, 1965:82).

The result of the latter process is the emergence of racially transformed Arab stock in Sudan. Despite this fact, the cultural aspect of Arabisation of the Sudanese people is the strongest and was the more profound because it also meant their Islamisation (ibid). More on the discussion of the effects of Arabicisation (the sociolinguistic process) which includes Arabisation (the ideological orientation) will be given in Chapter 6 through 8. In the meantime I move to examine Sudan's current ethno-linguistic pattern.

3.4. Ethno-Linguistic Groups in Northern Sudan

After their settlement and assumption of power and authority in Nubia, the extent of the spread of the Arab ethnolinguistic group in Sudan is represented in Map 2 in relation to the other ethnic groups or nationalities. What is significant is that as a result of socio-political and cultural transformation the term 'Arab' has over the years assumed a different connotation and has been re-appropriated in the Sudan for political, social and cultural reasons. As Hasan puts it

"regardless of some exceptions the term 'Arab' was progressively being emptied of its ethnic significance, and increasingly the cultural connotation becomes the more logical definition of this evolution" (Hasan, 2002:25).

While this explanation of the evolution of the meaning of the ethnic term Arab may be true, the fact that Arab ethnicity seems to be claimed by many non-Arabs in the Northern Sudan can only be explained in terms of ideological conditioning of these people. This fact becomes clearer below in this discussion.

The process of Arabisation, that is, adoption of Arab identity dates from the pre-colonial period but it was reified so as to allow for its reproduction during the colonial and independence period. Arabism in Sudan has now therefore gained a wider but at the same time an ambiguous meaning (see Mohammed, 1993; and Lesch, 1998). A generally accepted definition of Arab would therefore

“include people who speak the Arabic language and claim to have originated in Arabia, even though that genealogy is largely fictional” (Lesch, 1998:15).

On the basis of this definition most people in the northern Sudan, because they are Muslims and speak Arabic, are erroneously labelled Arab or Arabised by the Arabo-centric mainstream society in the northern Sudan. The victims of the ideology of Arabism or of the social change, the Arabised indigenous Sudanese have come to accept the label and identify themselves as Arab, as long as the ideology has been promoted unquestioned in the Northern Sudan more intensively than in South Sudan through the education system. These are telling facts on historical and sociolinguistic and cultural developments that may have a bearing on the current language situation in the Sudan.

Map 2: Showing Sudan's Ethno-linguistic Groups. Source: Ann Mosely Lesch (1998).

IMAGE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



It must be as a result of this appropriation of the term 'Arab' that the Arab ethnic group which in fact means people who claim Arab genealogy for religious, linguistic and cultural assimilation reasons, came to constitute 39% of the population of Sudan according to the results of the first census in 1955 cited above, and 40% according to 1983 population census (Lesch, 1998). Although in this sense they are a minority, but their language and socio-economic position accords them a dominant and powerful position in relation to the indigenous Sudanese population. A careful reading of Map 2 indicates that the Arabs and the Arabised Sudanese are concentrated along the Nile Valley from Kosti in the southwest of Khartoum up to Dongola. They inhabit the Northern provinces or states, in addition to being scattered in central, eastern and western Sudan. Some ethnic Arabs in Sudan have maintained their original nomadic way of life since their ancestors settled in Sudan in from the 14th century.

This generalised definition of the term Arab, and identification with Arabism has left little room for the many indigenous African people in the northern Sudan who, over the many centuries since the coming of Arabs and Islam into the country, have adopted the new faith and the associated language, cultures and customs. The discussion above has shown that although they are a minority, the Arabs have dominated the Sudan politically, economically, and culturally. Nevertheless there are major non-Arab ethnic groups in the Northern Sudan which altogether make up 26% of the Sudan's population. These include the Beja, Nuba, Nubians, and Fur (see Lesch, 1998), just to name these four examples of major groups.

3.5. Ethno-Linguistic Groups in Southern Sudan

In relation to the above description of ethnolinguistic groups in the Northern Sudan, Map 2 shows a more diverse ethnolinguistic picture of Southern Sudan within Sudan as whole. In the context of Sudanese ethnolinguistic diversity as seen on Map 2, Southern Sudanese, perhaps for unique historical, socio-political and cultural reasons, among other factors discussed above and elsewhere in this section, seem to have so far succeeded in maintaining their indigenous languages and African way of life or their ethos and identity in large rural territories. Not only that but they seem to have invariably used those ways over the years as a weapon to resisting Arabisation and the hegemony of the Arab-dominated ruling elite in Sudan. Given their historical and recent experiences, the southern Sudanese peoples are a good example of

ethnolinguistic groups in the contemporary Sudan to be associated with a strong desire to maintain their languages and cultures in the face of Arabisation. As we shall find out in subsequent discussion of language policy and planning issues in this study, the attitudes of Southern Sudanese to the indigenous languages in the region tend to lend support to this claim. This point seem to give credence to Bamgbose's (2000) assertion that dominance of one language over several others in a multilingual situation is no guarantee that language policy formulated in favour of the dominant language can be successfully implemented. In the context of South-North relations in terms of language policy in education in Sudan as we will find out below in the discussion of socio-political and historical events in Southern Sudan, Southern Sudan has resisted the monolingual Arabisation policy since its introduction into the region's educational system in 1950s, hitherto based on vernacular and English languages as media of instruction. A description of ethnolinguistic map of Southern Sudan specifically, like that of Northern Sudan described above seemed to share similarities in terms of the causes or factors of social transformation. it is necessary to provide an analysis of the historical events and processes that resulted in the formation of the current ethnolinguistic situation in Northern Sudan in the first place.

3.6. Historical and Socio-political Developments in Southern Sudan

3.6.1. Characteristic Features of Southern Sudan

Notwithstanding the overview earlier of facts on Sudan in general, Southern Sudan as the focus of this study deserves a description of its physical and sociolinguistic features. I begin with statement of some basic facts about the socio-political entity now known to the world as Southern Sudan. The size of the territory that constitutes Southern Sudan is estimated at over 800,000 sq. km, about a third of the overall size of Sudan. In this sense it is estimated to be equal in size to the two East African neighbouring states of Kenya and Uganda combined. Although it is big in size according to these estimates, Southern Sudan population is currently estimated at about 8 to 11 million people (Ethnologue Sudan, 1998), which is small in relation to its size, and about a third of the Sudan population cited earlier above as 34.9 million people. In terms of national, regional and international location, Southern Sudan is a land-locked country virtually located in the heart or centre of Africa. The internal boundary marking Southern Sudan from the North, for historical and political reasons

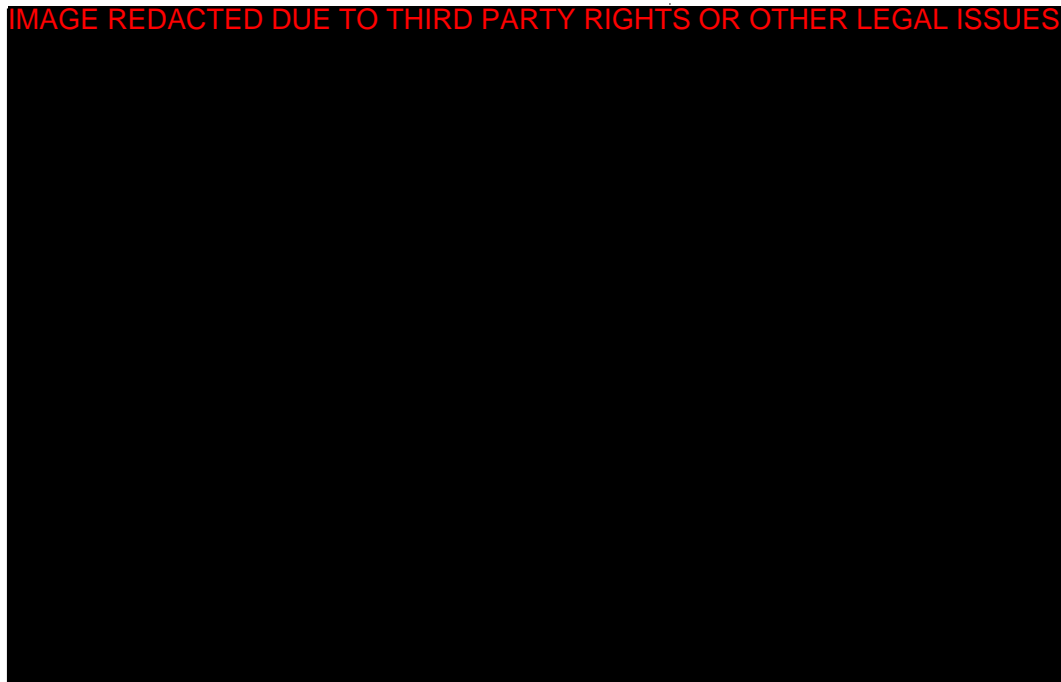
traced to the differential evolution of the two parts of the Sudan, carries much more sociolinguistic meaning than the other internal administrative boundaries. Southern Sudan shares international borders with five of the eight African countries neighbouring Sudan, namely Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda as part of East African or Horn of Africa Region, Congo Democratic Republic and Central African Republic as part of the Equatorial Region to the west. Given this regional location, it can be said that Southern Sudan, ethno-linguistically speaking contributes more to the notion of Sudan as a microcosm of Africa. As mentioned above in the description of ethno-linguistic features of Sudanese society, the South identifies with indigenous African cultural traditions and Christianity. Its people are racially and ethno-linguistically related to their neighbours in tropical and sub-Saharan Africa. This definition restates the North-South dichotomy and places Southern Sudan in an almost contrastive position to the Arabic and Islamic oriented Northern Sudan.

The expansion of the Turco-Egyptian Empire in the first half of the 19th century further south along the Nile Valley, contributed to the root causes of the current language situation in Southern Sudan. This influence can be explained, as it was in the case of Christian Nubia and other Northern societies, in terms of the sustained contact for over a century and half between the Arabised and Islamised North on one hand, and the indigenous African South on the other. The most important sociolinguistic point here is that the eventual developments in the language situation are incidental to the commercial contact, particularly those that involved the slave and ivory trade, with their attendant military and administrative or management structures (Mahmud, 1983). I take the above historical developments as the socio-historical basis for the discussion in Chapter 4 of the language situation in Southern Sudan, and for considering the future direction this could take.

Map 3 below illustrates the ethno-linguistic reality of Southern Sudan in this specific account of its own transformation in relation to Northern Sudan. Although it has exaggerated the level of harmony (not homogeneity) between and among related language groups in Southern Sudan, Map 3 in fact simplifies the picture than is often portrayed when writers tend to amplify the variations turning them into differences. Concentrating on minor differences between ethnic groups or tribes speaking intelligible varieties of a potential common language has so far been the approach to

the description of language situation in Sudan. The same applies in most African countries. I illustrate this point by citing two cases of group languages or even larger language families, the Bari group language with its six distinctive tribal or ethnic components, and Dinka with around ten sub-groups, as good examples of the simplified picture on Map 3. This example should not just be for the purposes of viewing the extent of the language situation in the South, rather, efforts to harmonise the situation by developing two standard languages out of the varieties which constitute the respective languages should be the aim.

Map 3 Showing Distribution of Ethno-linguistic Groups in Southern Sudan
Source: Hindi, 2000.



The Nilotics (see both Map 2 and 3), who inhabit mostly the central Nile Valley are mainly cattle herders and lead a pastoral and rural lifestyle. This lifestyle is likely to be a factor in the language behaviour and attitude in respect to language maintenance of the respective ethnic groups.

Miller and Abu-Manga (1992) have made observations on this assumption in their study of Southern Sudanese internally displaced people who have lived in shanty towns around Khartoum during the civil war period (1983-2005). They found that the Nilotics' have a strong desire to maintain their languages in even as immigrants for more than 20 years in Northern Sudan during the second north-south civil war which internally displaced about four million Southern Sudan into Northern Sudan and beyond.

The Nilo-Hamitic or the other Nilotics (Lesch, 1998; and Map 3) and the Sudanic peoples respectively inhabit mainly eastern and western parts of the Nile valley south of the Nilotics proper. Their lifestyles range from semi-pastoral to pure cultivators of land or agriculturists. The Nilo-Hamites are represented in Southern Sudan by, among others, the Bari-speaking, the Lotuko-speaking and the Toposa people. The major Sudanic groups in Southern Sudan include the Azande and the Moru-Madi communities. Regarding their attitudes towards their languages and cultures the Nilo-Hamitic groups, like the Nilotics, and indeed like most ethno-linguistic groups in Southern Sudan, tend to maintain their languages as they adapt to other language situations. Although it remains a subject of empirical study, a generation of Southern Sudanese displaced into Northern Sudan during the 21 year long civil war appears to have succeeded in keeping their languages and cultures (Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992). With this account of the ethnolinguistic groups in Southern Sudan described, I can now proceed to describe the developments in the educational language situation in Southern Sudan specifically.

From a historical perspective, other reasons for the emergence of the ethnolinguistic groups described above as well as the current language situation in the Southern Sudan can be viewed as political, and can be traced to the intrusion by foreigners into the normal way of life of the Southern Sudanese people, in the same manner as Arab invasion and settlement in Nubia resulted in the transformation of Northern Sudan. Following Mahmud, (1983), three major developments stand out to explain further the objective factors that may in turn better explain the language situation in Southern Sudan which I describe in Chapter 4. These language-related developments are:

1. Disruption of the normal social and economic way of life of the Southern Sudanese Communities as a result of the foreign intrusion, and the eventual

transformation of their way of life, under the coercive force of foreign merchants from Northern Sudan, Egypt and Europe.

2. Linking the then disparate and remote Southern communities to the periphery of the world monetary commercial system as a result of the booming ivory and slave trades.
3. Emergence for the first time in the history of these communities of a centralised political and economic system, in the form of trade centres or settlements to which they were answerable.

These developments show that the main objective of the administrative structures was control, obtaining goods such as ivory and slaves; and services in the form of porters and trans-porters of these goods. The indirect consequence from the intensive human contact over the years, in the form of social transformation, was the emergence of various forms of contact languages. Mahmud (ibid) suggests that this period marked the inception of forms of pidgin Arabic in different Settlements. The historical transformation of the previously separate, isolated and monolingual Southern communities has given way to the present language situation. It is not difficult to imagine that modern Southern Sudan, like most linguistically diverse modern states in Africa, is formed out of monolingual communities some of which might have been independent ethnic or village states with some kind of structures many centuries prior to their eventual social transformation under review here.

From a sociolinguistic and historical perspective Mahmud (1983) explains the politico-military developments in more concrete time period terms than Sanderson and Sanderson (1981) and Collins (1983) who describe the same events from historical angles. According to Mahmud, 1850-1884 marks the first stage in the colonisation of southern Sudan, and witnessed, among other things, the establishment of the trade centres or settlements; rivalry between merchants and competition for control of trade spheres. Inevitably, a military confrontation between rivalling traders with attendant social and linguistic consequences ensued which led to competition and massive recruitment of slave soldiers into the different merchants' forces. The areas surrounding merchants' settlements grew in size and developed into urban centres or towns such as Daim Zubeir in Bahr El-Ghazal and Mangala in Equatoria, the nucleus of the emerging and subsequent colonial state in Southern Sudan. During this period,

pidgin Arabic, the emerging lingua franca in the settlements and nascent urban centres, was the contact language. The link between the local communities and the nascent centralised state authority was through interpreters, who themselves were freed slaves who had learned the new language.

In another major political development, the Mahdists invaded the South in 1885 after defeating the Turco-Egyptian army in the North in their five-year military campaign (1881-1885) to establish an Islamic state. The Mahdists were in the South until the end of their regime in 1898 when the Anglo-Egyptian colonial power re-conquered the Sudan. In that period, the South witnessed the worst social upheaval and insecurity due to the absence of a central authority. Paradoxically, the Mahdists Islamic revolution had negative consequences on the language situation.

3.7. Colonial Education Policy Debate: Implications for Language Situation in Southern Sudan

Development of education in Southern Sudan was delayed during the initial period of the Anglo-Egyptian rule for several reasons. Amongst these was the preoccupation of the Anglo-Egyptian administration in the Southern Sudan with the question of security. This was given priority and regarded as the paramount issue. This meant the little money that was available was used up in security campaigns of 'pacification' in both Northern and Southern Sudan (Sanderson and Sanderson, 1981; Hasan, 2002). This created a situation in the South that made the process and development of education less government supported there than in the north. Entrusting education entirely to the Christian Missionaries, as some scholars see it, was reminiscent of the *laissez faire* philosophy of education practised in Victorian Britain (Beshir, 1969; and Sandell, 1982). This approach delayed the development of educational provision for the South in comparison to the north, which, although considered a lower priority in relation to Egypt and Southern Sudan, did get the little money there was for education. This was clear evidence that education in the South, along with the issue of language development, was regarded during the first two decades of Condominium rule as the least priority.

Given that the development of language policy in the colonised countries in Africa, for example, always followed after, or in some cases was considered simultaneously with that of public administration and education, the lack of interest in educational development in the Southern Sudan meant the language issue laid dormant for a long time. To illustrate, it took two decades (from 1900 to 1920s) of debate among British officials in Khartoum, Cairo and probably London to decide whether or not the Condominium government should finance education in the South. At the centre of that debate was language of instruction and what to do with educated Southern Sudanese at the time, as there were obviously no development structures in place. The conclusion of the British authorities in Cairo was that since the government had neither an educational policy nor a development plan for the South, it was 'better to do nothing' (Sandell, 1982:52 citing Currie the Secretary of Education based in Egypt). An additional contradiction was that the authorities were also against the employment of Muslim teachers in the South at the time. The British wanted an alternative to Arabic in the Southern Sudan, which was introduced as the official language of government by the Turco-Egyptian rulers from 1840s to 1881 when the Mahdists dislodged them. While the government was debating, the Christian Missions were allowed the monopoly of education in the Southern Sudan. To the Christian Missionary Societies, there was no language problem, as they preferred to use local languages in teaching the Bible. But to the government there was a problem since they inherited Arabic as the language of administration in the South from Turco-Egyptian and Mahdist regimes.

The current language issue in Sudan, affecting Southern Sudan in particular, dates to this period when there was no clear policy. Although the British attempted to resolve the South-North divide that was caused by the historical factors explained in this study by instituting the 'Southern Policy'¹, this experiment apparently came too late as it proved short lived and was overtaken by the North-South Sudan political events. In fact it has complicated the language issue more since the policy was not executed to the full to achieve the intended outcome, or to arrive at its logical end, i.e. separation of Southern Sudan from the North.

¹ In 1930 the British colonial administration in Sudan decided to formally separate Southern Sudan from Northern part of the country, in a bit to protect its people from economic, political and cultural exploitation by the relatively exposed, educated and developed Northerners, especially commercial traders.

Between 1904 and 1918, the British Administration in the South developed the 'Southern Policy'. The aim of the policy was to get rid of Arabic and Islamic influence by removing the commercial, military, cultural and religious structures which were already in place in the South (Sanderson and Sanderson, 1981). As language and education policies were the corner stones of the 'Southern Policy', everything possible was done to implement this policy, including the following measures:

- Introduction of the policy of 'Indirect Rule' from 1918 to justify the use and development of indigenous structures in the South.
- Imposition of the Close District Ordinance (1922) and providing government financial subsidy towards education in the South around 1922 even though its management was still in the hands of the missionaries.
- Institutionalising English as the language of administration and of instruction, together with the selected Southern languages at the lower primary level as directed by the Rejaf Language Conference in 1928.
- Formal declaration of the Southern Policy in 1930 virtually meant separation of the Southern Sudan from the North as travellers between the North and the South were required to obtain a kind of passport.

This suited the philosophy behind the Southern Policy, that was to create barriers to the exploitative northern traders (the Jallaba) of the southern population that was then mostly uneducated and largely unaware of the world around them, and to allow them to develop until they could stand on their own feet as equals of their northern compatriots. The policy was essentially designed to

build up a series of self-contained racial or tribal units with structure and organisation based, to whatever extent the requirements of equity and good government permit, upon indigenous customs, traditional usage and beliefs (Sudan Government, 1930 p.15).

Arabic language and cultural symbols were among some of the structures outlawed by the measures following the declaration of the Southern Policy. In short everything that the Arabs did to promote Arabic language and culture in the Southern Sudan during the Turco-Egyptian and Mahdist periods were discouraged by the Policy. Sandell

sums up the situation by saying that the introduction of Indirect Rule in the South after it was already operational in the North for years meant:

Local tribal leaders were given administrative responsibility under the supervision of the British (Sandell, 1982:54).

In language terms this meant the use of local languages as medium of local administration.

The implementation of the Indirect Rule or native Administration implied less involvement of Egyptian and Northern Sudanese officials but more of British senior officials at the district level. This also can be interpreted as more use of English in the administration in Southern Sudan, with implications for Arabic and the local languages and cultures in the region.

3.7.1. Reversal of the Southern Policy: Effects on Language Situation

The end of the Second World War brought about a new world order in political dispensation, affecting especially in the European colonies. In Sudan, this meant campaign by Northern elites under the leadership of the Graduates Congress² and the guidance of Arab nationalist movement, for self-determination or independence of Sudan from the Anglo-Egyptian rule. It espoused Arab nationalist ideology after similar groups in Egypt. For Southern Sudan the new world order meant reversal of both the administrative and language policies as the maintenance of British interest in Egypt became greater than that in the Southern Sudan. As a result of this new situation the essence of British policies for Southern Sudan, for example the policy of separate development which was not backed up with financial subsidies, proved very contradictory and therefore untenable (Sandell, 1982; Sanderson and Sanderson, 1981). The inevitable reversal of the British Southern policies of separate development was announced in 1946, but the actual policy which called for unity of South and North of Sudan was enacted after the 1947 Juba Conference. Further major changes including those implicating education and language policy in the independence era were effected during the transition to independence or between 1947 and 1956.

² The Graduate General Congress was formed in 1938 as a union of Sudanese intellectuals but dominated by pro-Arab Nationalist Northern educated elites.

It is worth recalling that the two administrative policies led to the temporary separation of the South from the North for about two decades (de facto from early 1920s to 1947 following the Juba Conference). Both the Southern Policy and the Close District Ordinance were apparently aimed at providing the Southern Sudanese society with a measure of protection from exploitation by the more economically exposed and socially and culturally transformed Arabised Northerners. Now, in a British political volte face instead of being protected against exploitation by the Jallaba (Northern traders) as envisaged in the Southern Policy, and allowed to develop their own potential so as with time they become the equals of their relatively educated and socially and economically advanced Northern compatriots, the new policy ended prematurely the purported protective measures for Southerners. The revised Southern Policy which emphasised the unity of the North and the South of Sudan stressed the need for economic and social development of the Southern Sudanese people so as to bring them to equal level with the Northerners.

After acknowledging the distinctive African identity, outlook and orientation of the Southern Sudanese people, as opposed to the Arab/Arabised and Islamic characteristics of the mainstream society in Northern Sudan, both of which should now define the new Sudanese entity and identity as well, the new colonial Southern Policy towards the South went along way to qualify this recognition:

but that geography and economics combine (so far as can be foreseen at the present time) to render them inextricably bound for future development to the middle-eastern and Arabised Northern Sudan: and therefore to ensure that they shall, by educational and economic development, be equipped to stand up for themselves in the future as socially and economically the equals of their partners of the Northern Sudan in the Sudan of the future (Sudan Government, 1930, p.102).

The new plans spelt out in this policy for educational and economic development were not fully implemented. The British left Sudan sooner than they had belatedly planned. Since independence the Arab-dominated central government in the North has assumed and promoted Arabic and Islam as the official language and religion of Sudan, without giving allowance for the development of the indigenous Sudanese languages and cultures, especially in the Southern Sudan. In spite of the reversal of the Southern Policy and the implementation of Arabicisation in the South after

independence, the ethno-linguistic reality in the Sudan does not back the one-country-one-language one-culture drive (Sudan Government, Ministry of Education, 1959) by the Arab and Muslim-dominated post-independence central government in Khartoum. The ethnic and linguistic make up of the Sudan, historically and currently speaks for itself, and is useful material in the discussion of ideas on the development of comprehensive or national educational language policy and planning that may suggest viable solution to the post-independence language in education problems in the southern Sudan in particular.

3.7.2. Political and Administrative Developments and Language Situation in Southern Sudan

The foregoing historical analyses in relation to developments on language policy in Southern Sudan can be summed up as follows. The Anglo-Egyptian colonial period (1898-1956) witnessed major developments in the language situation in the Southern Sudan. In addition to Arabic, English language came onto the scene, and for the first time indigenous languages were given a role in the educational system. The developments had implications for the language situation in the area which ramifications continue to affect the language situation today. Although the Condominium administration did not initially have an educational, and by extension, a language policy for the South, once they identified the need to establish modern education in the area, they accepted the plans. But it was clear that language policy decisions in Southern Sudan, unlike in the North, became strongly linked to political and administrative decisions.

It seemed that language policy decisions of the colonial administration were motivated by the desire to eventually replace Arabic with English in Southern Sudan. It is to be noted that the British inherited the use of Arabic as the medium of administration in the region from the Turco-Egyptians and the Mahdists (Sandell, 1982). The Arabisation policy was promoted in Southern Sudan by the three traditional agents namely, Arabic-speaking merchants from the Middle East and Northern Sudanese traders (the Jallaba), and military forces. The latter comprised Northern and Southern soldiers who used Arabic varieties as lingua franca. This state of affairs contradicted the undeclared British policy of encouraging the Christian

Missionaries to proselytise among what they referred to as ‘pagan tribes’ in the South, in this way keeping them away from the Muslim North just pacified following the defeat of the Ansar, followers of the Mahdi. In addition, as we will find out below, the use of Arabic as the medium of administration in the South could not support the establishing of the policy of Indirect Rule. In contrast, and because Arabic had established strong ideological basis in Northern Sudan, the Anglo-Egyptian colonial rulers administered the Northern Sudan in both Arabic and English.

3.7.3. The Southern Sudan Administrative and Language Policies as Major Developments

In order for the British and their Egyptian partners to govern Southern Sudan effectively, they formulated the Southern Policy. At the same time however, they were faced with the problem of language as a means of implementing that policy. They had to resolve the issue of language of administration in the Southern Sudan. But as the Southern Policy emphasised Indirect Rule, meaning the local people, as much as possible, used indigenous social structures to govern themselves, its implementation was to depend on the use of vernacular languages and English. The Southern Policy therefore excluded the use of Arabic in all public domains in the South.

Although administrative in its expressed aims, the Southern Policy produced the foundation for the subsequent education and language policies in the Southern Sudan. This state of affair, which is known as language policy through the backdoor, is reminiscent of early works on language policy in education by the Christian Missionaries in Africa (e.g. Blommaert, 1999 in the Congo), and elsewhere in the developing countries or regions including Southern Sudan. Subsequent educational developments in the Southern Sudan, and by extension the development of awareness about the role of local languages in education and learning, besides the traditional uses, were initially guided by and intended to serve the Southern Policy.

In Sudan, the most direct and immediate effect of the Southern Policy implementation in relation to language was the convening of the Rejaf Language Conference in 1928. The conference was a milestone in that it was international in scope since it brought in

experts from Europe and participants from the neighbouring countries such as Uganda, and Congo. It was one of the few language and education meetings held in the region. The effect of this conference is still felt today, since no other conference of its stature has been organised since independence to discuss the now even more complicated language situation in the South. Writing in a report of one of his rare but extensive visits to the South in 1937, the colonial Director of Education (normally based in Khartoum) commented positively on the conference. He Said:

The Rejaf Language Conference and the visits of Drs Westermann and Tucker brought order into the chaos of Southern vernaculars: the decision to select and foster certain languages only, the choice of those languages, and the advances made towards standardisation of the orthographies, laid agreed foundation for the linguistic policy that stands today (Sudan Government, Director of Education's Report, 1937).

Indeed, one can assert the point that the policy is still valid today, and this foundation is the point of departure for current language studies in the Southern Sudan. This attempt to analyse the current language situation in Southern Sudan bears testimony to the importance of the Conference. Both the old and any new data will be useful in studies on language policy formulation and language planning. Thus the conference was the first formal and scientific approach to describe the language situation in the Southern Sudan.

The result of the survey was a record of languages and dialects spoken in Southern Sudan in relation to the number of speakers. Since there has been no follow up to the Rejaf Language Conference after independence except for a rough survey of Southern Sudan languages by SIL in 1975 (cited in Chapter 4), the 1928 linguistic map of Southern Sudan remains the main source of reference today. However, the dynamics in the sociolinguistic situation, as shown in the few studies on language situation in Sudan (e.g. Mahmud, 1983; Ayik, 1986; Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992; and Hindi, 2000), plus individual views of participants in this study, indicates significant changes which the planners at Rejaf could not have foreseen, even though the overall view of Southerners is in favour of English. In 1974, in a debate on re-introduction of English as the medium of instruction in schools in the former People's Regional Assembly in Southern Sudan (see Appendix 6), those who supported the policy of Arabicisation in Southern Sudan (the status quo before the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement) referred to

Arabic new role particularly as a lingua franca in Southern Sudan. Much more recently, Yuggu, one of the participants in the interviews had this to say indicating the changing attitude of Southern Sudanese to Arabic:

From experience in Yambio, western Equatoria, one could not be in a position to communicate with the ordinary citizens in the market place without Juba Arabic. You would look out of place talking in English in the market place. Well, actually when you see the reality down there, then you say ok, may be we have to accept Arabic as a lingua franca. And Arabic has been playing this role anyway all this time (Yuggu, 30-3-03).

The spread of Arabic, especially the Southern Arabic pidgin (Juba Arabic) and some indigenous languages as well as English among the educated Southerners because of their use as the medium of instruction in schools in the South are noteworthy sociolinguistic developments. The importance of the three categories of languages in Southern Sudan and their roles within a future language policy will be examined in Chapter 6. For the moment, it is sufficient to mention that the attempts made the Rejaf Language Conference decisions to exclude the use of Arabic in the Southern Sudan and to replace it with vernacular languages and English have not succeeded. Instead, Arabic, in its colloquial versions has spread significantly as a second or third language. Factors such as the reversal of the Southern Policy in 1946, the end of British rule in the Southern Sudan when the Sudan became independent in 1956, and ascendance of Arabic-speaking Sudanese elite to power followed by their adoption of Arabisation as an official language policy, are regarded as crucial in the spread of Arabic in Southern Sudan.

3.8. Conclusion

I have analysed and explained various historical and sociolinguistic developments in Sudan in the foregoing sections in Chapter 3. The discussion includes the description of such basic information about Sudan as its the defining physical and sociolinguistic features, both in the case of Northern and Southern Sudan. An account of the vastness of Sudan was important as it explained the reasons why the country has diverse peoples and languages. Sudan's vastness suggests that unless a nation-wide linguistic consultation is carried out and all groups are involved, it is difficult for the central government in the Khartoum to sustain a unilateral educational language policy. The discussion shows that the historical movement or immigration and settlement of the Arab and Muslim people played a great part in the transformation of the Sudanese

society, especially in Northern Sudan. The result of long and sustained contact between the pre-existing indigenous Africans in present day northern Sudan and the Arabs has resulted in the creation of an Arabised people along the Nile Valley (see Map 2).

While the Arabisation process is ongoing and sustained by state power at the level of central government, resistance to it historically mainly Southern Sudan-based, at least in the last 50 years of Sudan's independence, has continued unabated. Moreover, while studies on current language situation indicate significant spread of Arabic in Southern Sudan and in the other marginalised areas with indigenous speaking populations, mainstream Southern attitude and behaviour, and of recent the change in the attitude to Arabic language and culture of the racially non-Arab peoples in Northern Sudan (although this is yet to be empirically explained) indicate that they are reviving the use of their languages and cultures. As several studies and opinions of interviewees in this research show, Arabic is however now included as one of the languages in most Sudanese linguistic repertoires, since it is an important means of communication in the urban areas in the whole country. The historical discussions and observations mean that the Sudanese society is essentially linguistically diverse and is not likely to sustain a monolingual language policy. Hence the traditional approach of the Arab dominated central government in Khartoum to language policy in education which aims at Arabicisation as a means of achieving assimilation of the indigenous population into the Arab and Islamic culture and tradition is the worse product of the historical transformation of Sudan. This conclusion of the historical analysis will now lead us to the description of the current language situation in Sudan in the next chapter. In addition to the historical analysis, the discussion of the post-independence language situation in Sudan as a multilingual country will show why an inclusive language policy in education is justified for Sudan as a whole and Southern Sudan in particular.

Chapter 4

Describing the Current Language Situation in Sudan

4.1. Introduction

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the description of the post-independence language situation in Sudan in general and Southern Sudan in particular, in relation to linguistic diversity. It is informed by the historical and socio-political developments in Chapter 3 as well as the definition of concepts and their discussion in relation to language situation in the context of multilingualism in Chapter 2. The aim of Chapter 4 is to explore the extent of linguistic diversity in Sudan and especially in Southern Sudan. The focus of the discussion involves the explanation of the apparent inconsistency between the sociolinguistic reality in the country, as shown by the prevailing multilingual situation, and the post-independence monolingual language policy. Seen from the angle of the post-independence Arabicisation policy, Chapter 4 also provides an opportunity of transition to the explanation of conceptual frameworks and models of language policy and planning which I do in Chapter 5, prior to the discussion of Sudan's post-colonial language policy in education in Chapter 6 through 8.

4.2. Linguistic Diversity as a Feature of Sudan's Language Situation

Linguistic diversity and multilingualism characterise the Sudan's language situation, and diglossia defines much of the behaviour of its people. Based on the description of types of multilingual countries in African in Chapter 2 and on the analyses of the developments in the Sudanese context in Chapters 3, Sudan shares with the rest of the Sub-Saharan African countries the characteristics of a complex language situation where colonial legacy plays a complicating role. Even though linguistic diversity is said to have characterised the continent before colonialism, nevertheless it was a normal and positive experience. Bamgbose (2000) describes the historical situation clearly when he points out that

“until the colonial experience of central administration through an imported official language, nothing was more natural than for Africans to speak several different languages and to learn the language of a neighbouring group whenever out-group interaction so demands” (Bamgbose, 2000:32).

In emphasising the normalcy of multilingualism in human society Adama Ouane (2003) describes this scenario more forcefully.

“Multilingualism is the natural order of things whereas monolingualism corresponds to a construction imposed for political and educational reasons as the linguistic ideal. Countries are multilingual but policies are, in many cases monolingual” (Ouane, 2003:451).

According to this explanation, official languages or lingua francas grew out of necessity of trade contacts, and monolingualism was imposed on the pretext that multilingualism was divisive and untidy (Bamgbose, op.cit.). Or as Skutnabb-Kangas (2006, pp 279-280) observes, advocates of monolingualism regard linguistic diversity as messy, complicates things, a problem and an obstacle to national unity and citizenship. From the above explanation of linguistic diversity we can see that factors such as colonialism and centralised administration associated with the conventional western system of state governance contributed to the existing situation of language diversity in the Africa. As mentioned above the impact and result of colonialism on language situation has been the typical pattern of linguistic diversity and multilingualism found in most African countries south of the Sahara, Sudan included.

In the specific Sudanese context, sociolinguistic factors associated with multilingualism, some of which are historical and unique to the area as discussed in Chapter 1, such as large scale migration of people, settlement and intermarriage and the role of the Arabised and Islamised armed forces seemed to have contributed to the creation and development of the current situation of linguistic diversity in the country (Mahamud, 1983; and Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992).

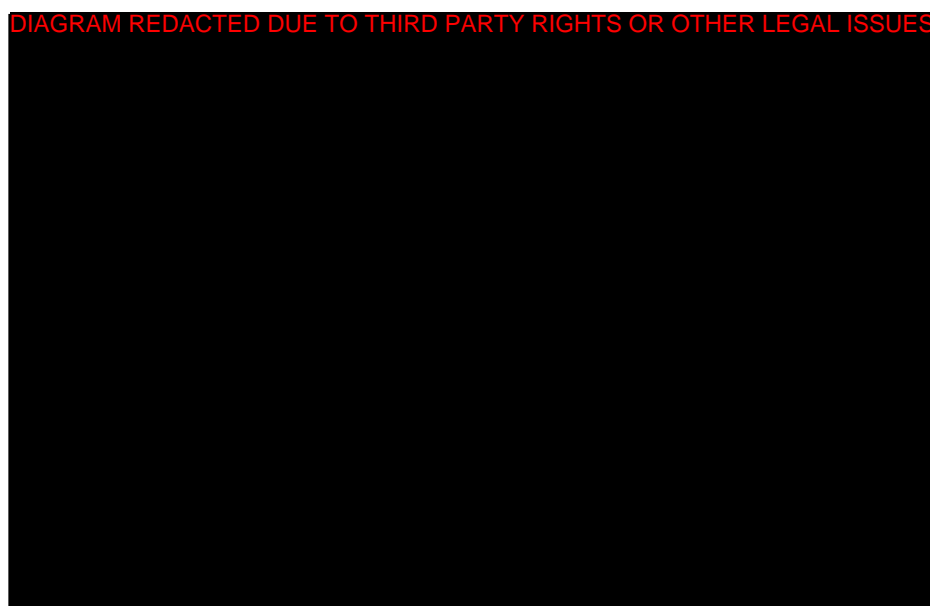
4.2.1. The Nature and Extent of Sudan’s Linguistic Diversity

The question of number and distribution of Sudanese languages is crucial in the description of the language situation and in considerations of language policy and planning. But before we can specify these details, we actually need to consider the macro language situation in terms of larger language families out of which we will obtain the possible number of languages and their speakers in Sudan. I am aware of Tucker (1935), and Tucker and Bryan (1956) classification of Sudanese languages into six larger units or families based on analyses of geographical areas as well as linguistic or genetic affinity. However, I prefer to use the Greenberg’s (1960)

classification of African languages, as cited in Nyombe (1998), in explaining the Sudan's language situation because it appears to explain the situation simply and more appropriately.

To begin with, Greenberg describes the language situation in Africa in terms of three large language families as follows: 1) Niger-Kordufanian (including Bantu languages), 2) Nilo-Saharan (including Nilotic and Sudanic languages), and 3) Afro-Asiatic (including Cushitic and Semitic languages). It is interesting to note that all of the Greenberg's three major African language families are represented in Sudan (see Map 2). As Figure 2 shows the Nilo-Saharan branch includes the Sudanic and Nilotic African languages spoken in Southern Sudan.

Figure 2: Showing the Southern Sudan Branch of Greenberg Classification of African Languages. Source: Nyombe, 1998.

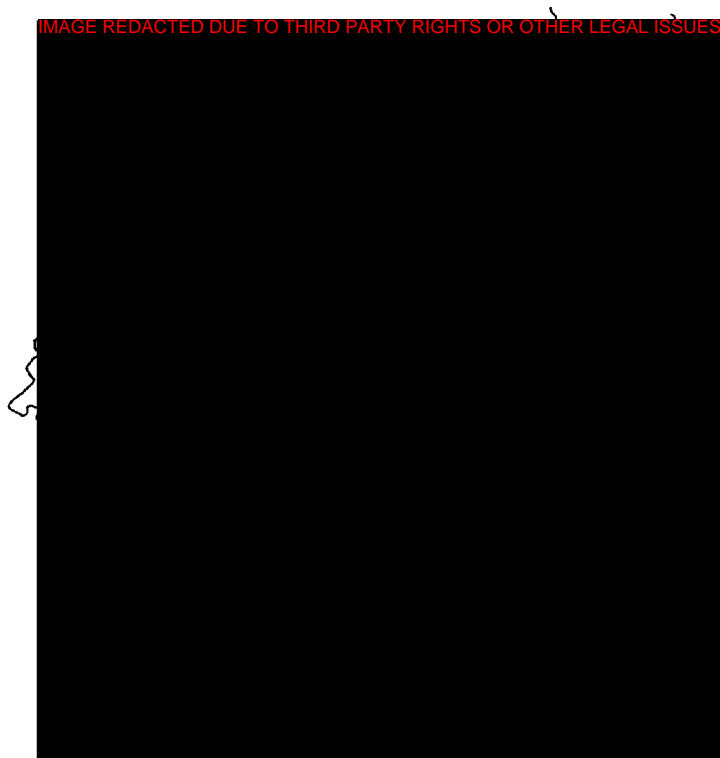


*The Bari and Lotuho group languages represent clusters of language varieties listed in Table 1 below. * etc means languages are found in Kenya and/or Uganda.

In terms of number of speakers the Nilotic branch, the largest in size and most extensive is divided into Western, Eastern and Southern sub-units (see Nyombe, 1998). Western and Eastern Nilotic which includes Dinka and Nuer with nearly three million speakers is the largest sub-unit, followed by Eastern Nilotics (see Nyombe, 1998 for details). Southern Nilotic languages are spoken in Kenya and Uganda.

In addition to these there are several ‘isolated languages’ that is, languages which have no affinity with the major units, and therefore can not be classified under them. In the Rejaf Language Conference mentioned above, the larger units are reclassified into language groups which included their dialects. This approach was useful in the classification of the Southern Sudanese languages for educational purposes. The conference was a landmark in the study and management of language situation in Southern Sudan. Due to the long-running post-independence North-South conflict and civil war which ended in January 2005 however, this initial language policy development could not be built on. This study could be regarded as an attempt at revisiting the Rejaf experience as well as creating the necessary awareness about the need for a viable post-independence educational language policy, especially for Southern Sudan.

Map 4: Showing Languages of Sudan and their Families. Source: Hindi (2000).



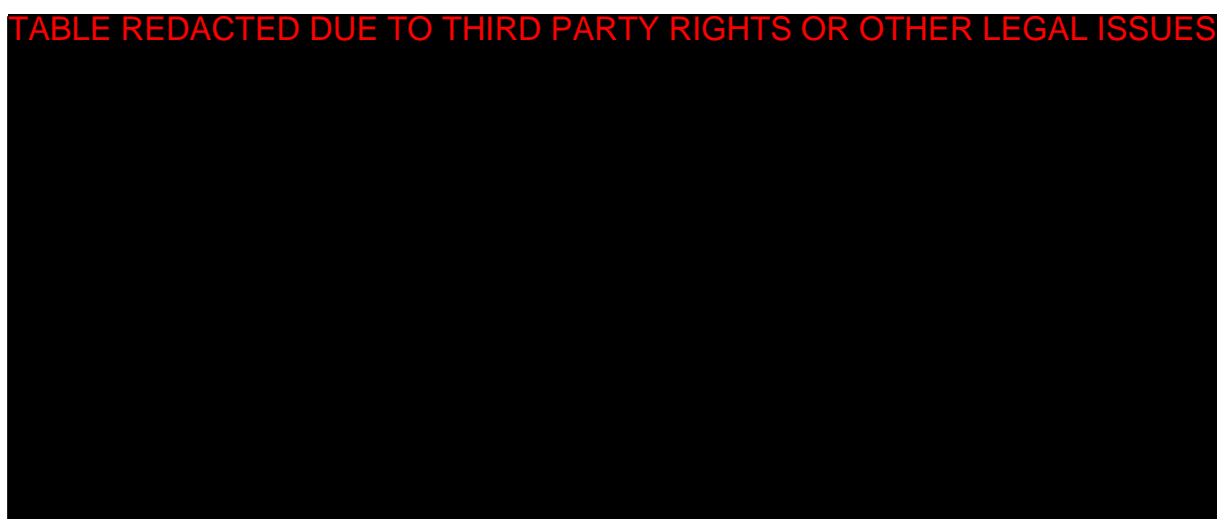
- 1 and 2 = Areas of extreme linguistic Diversity
- 3 and 4 = Areas of relatively Linguistic Diversity
- 5 = Area where people share a common culture and language (Arabic)

4.3. Ethno-Linguistic Dimension of the Language Situation

The first national population census was carried out in 1956, which included a question on ethno-linguistic composition of Sudan and therefore considered the first nation-wide official survey on the language situation. The result of languages count was 136 languages spoken in the Sudan (Hurreiz and Bell, 1975). This figure is not too far from Tucker and Bryan's estimate mentioned above, and it reflects the ethno-linguistic composition of the country at the time of Sudan's independence in 1956. The ethnic dimension of the language situation in the 1955 census survey revealed that there were eight distinct ethnic groups in Sudan. Table 2 shows this composition in numerical strength and percentage proportion of each group in the total population (Hindi, 2000:95).

Table 3: Showing Ethnic Composition in Sudan According to 1955/56 Population Census: Source: Hindi (2000), page 95

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From the figures given on the above table two major ethnic groups, namely Arabs 39% and Africans 61% can be said to comprise the population of Sudan. This summary of ethnic affiliation claimed by sections of Sudanese population in the first census, however, does not make the language situation any simpler. There were no further ethno-linguistic studies or sociolinguistic surveys after independence to verify, criticise, or complement the 1956 census findings. Neither were there any considerations of the census results in formulating and planning educational language policy. All the same the census result was there to stay as a confirmation of the real language situation on the ground in Sudan with 61% of total population of the country African. Typical of the African societies south of the Sahara, the component groups

belong to different language groups. In spite of the glaring evidence indicating that the majority of the population was composed of African ethnic groups, the Arab dominated central government proceeded to declare the policy of Arabicisation. In fact, in a *fait accompli* approach, this decision followed after Sudan's hastened membership of the Arab League soon after independence. By that declaration of language policy, and just as the other Arab League countries in the Middle East have done, the Sudan government made Arabic the sole official and national language of the new republic. This was the first official creation of the current language in education problem in Sudan as a result of which Southern education founded on totally different basis by both the Christian Missions and colonial government has suffered.

4.4. Post-Independence Language Survey

The Institute of African and Asian Studies, University of Khartoum, developed an interest in researching Sudanese languages in the 1960s. The result of the Institute's directed search for a defined language situation in Sudan was several conferences on education, language and literature in the Sudan. One such conference was held in 1970, and it awoke in scholars the need to take active part in studying the languages and cultures of the Sudan. In 1971, as the Southern resistance to Khartoum's oppressive policies intensified, another conference was organised in Juba the capital of Southern Sudan focusing on the theme of social and economic development of the southern region of the Sudan. Questions of language policy and education, two major factors in socio-economic development, dominated the conference (Sandell, 1982). It is said that the outcomes of the two conferences paved the way for the first ever 'Language Survey of Sudan' envisioned and planned to be nationwide, which was carried out in 1972. The language survey of Sudan was the second post-independence official enquiry aimed at delineating the language situation in the Sudan.

Although it was conducted at the level of the Institute of African and Asian Studies, from its inception it was supported by the government (see Jernudd, 1979). Among other aims, the objectives of the survey were: (a) to collect basic information about various languages in the Sudan, that is to say to determine in sociolinguistic terms, who speak what languages, how well, where, when and to whom, and (b) to study the relationships between the many vernaculars and between vernaculars and Arabic (see

Jernudd, 1979:16). Whether the planners of this important task had reflected on the possibility of modifying the survey timetable or not given the circumstances surrounding the language survey, phase one of the language survey (August 1972 to February 1973) coincided with the resettlement of returnees from neighbouring countries displaced by the first North-South civil war.

The Addis Ababa Accord, which had just been ratified in March 1972, ended the first civil war between the North, or the central government in Khartoum and the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) the political wing of the Anyanya, the armed resistance side of the Southern struggle, barely five months before the commencement of the language survey. As a result of this major political development in the country, the language survey could not cover the Southern Sudan, except for two localities in the Upper Nile region, Adong on the Sobat River and Malakal the capital city (Jernudd, 1979). For unknown reasons, the second phase of the language survey was not carried out following the resettlement and rehabilitation of the Southern Sudan war-displaced population. As we will find out under the discussion of the specific language situation in Southern Sudan, a separate and limited language survey was carried out in the South by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).

4.4.1. Findings of the Language Survey

Among the relevant findings of the first phase of the Language Survey of Sudan (Jernudd, 1979), which covered Northern Sudan is the one below which indicates a role for the indigenous languages, if only for the purposes of teaching and learning the Arabic language by the children whose mother tongue is not Arabic. In addition to, or rather because of the evidence showing bilingual if not multilingual behaviour in Northern Sudan, for example among the Nuba, Beja, Darfur and even Nubian populations, Jernudd arrived to the conclusion that:

“Sudan will be a vernacularly multilingual country beyond a period that it is possible to plan for. Policy guiding culture and, education, communication etc in the north will have to take into account these facts if it aspires to be rational” (Jernudd, 1979:184).

This statement implies that the central government at the early independence period missed the opportunity provided by the multilingual conditions in Sudan as a whole, to enact a comprehensive or national language policy. The language situation as

described by Jernudd in 1979 indicates that Sudan needed a language policy that was inclusive of the other Sudanese languages in order to adequately address the national language problems posed by complex ethnolinguistic situation. As we will find out in Chapter 5 and 6, the formulation and implementation of Arabicisation policy after independence went contrary to Jernudd's point above. Jernudd emphasises the point that while Arabic language and culture enjoy prominence, the many indigenous Sudanese languages and cultures including the many dialects of Arabic, must be recognised and developed as resources for carrying out social, economic and cultural development in the country. Most importantly as a language awareness raising point, Jernudd (1979) recommends that while Arabic remains the principal medium of instruction, information about the other languages and even their use in teaching and learning, for example about local history and environment, should be made part of the school time-table.

4.5. Description of the Current Language Situation in Southern Sudan

In reference to the definition and descriptions of language situation earlier, the term connotes a sociolinguistic approach to determining who speaks which language(s), where and for what purpose. The current language situation in Southern Sudan can therefore be described in terms of patterns of language use or communication within Southern Sudan, the number and status of languages spoken in the region, their distribution and degree and extent of bi- and multilingualism in the area. The actual language situation as exemplified by the communication patterns of Sudanese people including Southerners in the populated urban centres and cities clearly demonstrates multilingual behaviour. As mentioned above, recent sociolinguistic studies of internally displaced people or linguistic communities from Southern and Western Sudan to Khartoum (Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992) tend to confirm linguistic diversity in Southern Sudan. If you couple this with findings from a similar study in Juba on Arabic in the Southern Sudan (Mahmud, 1983), and data from interviews for this study in 2003 conducted with Sudanese refugees in Kenya and Uganda, you can see clearly the extent to which a multilingual pattern of language use characterise the behaviour of Southern Sudanese.

In the context of this study, discussion of the language situation and multilingualism is one way of laying the bases for planned social and educational change. The

objective of studying the Southern Sudan language situation is therefore to lay a strong foundation for making informed language policy decisions which will affect the use of the various languages in the area. McNab (1989; citing Heath 1985) gives credence to this approach to language policy and planning when she points out that language policies for education in multilingual countries are influenced by certain factors including the totality of language situations. McNab (ibid) suggests that such policies are best examined in terms of socio-political change, some of the dominant objectives for education systems in developing countries, and the prevailing language situation itself (McNab, 1989:7). The education objectives include national unity and national integration, economic and social development. These considerations, no doubt, apply to the study of language policy and planning in education in Sudan as a whole as they also are relevant to such studies in Sub-Sahara Africa. Discussion on the relevance of this point to the Southern Sudan language situation follows below.

4.5.1. Distribution of the Southern Sudan Indigenous Languages

McNab (1989) explains two examples of frameworks used for analysing communication patterns in larger speech communities. The simple type, she claims, is related to homogenous language communities where all the people in that community speak, read and write the same language, and whereby information flow easily in all directions. The complex model according to McNab is associated with more diverse language situations in which the communication patterns are not as simple as in the former. The description of the Southern Sudan language situation below is therefore based on the ethnically and linguistically more diverse framework than that which describes the situation in northern Sudan, often mistakenly portrayed as ethnolinguistically homogenous due to widespread adoption of Islamic religion and use of Arabic language.

The number, names and distribution of Southern Sudan languages emanating from the three major ethno-linguistic families described above according to Greenberg (1960; see also Lesch (1998) is one basis of the discussion of the language situation in Southern Sudan. Findings of the language survey of Southern Sudan in 1975 by SIL (see Appendix 8 for details) constitutes another source of information on the distribution of Southern Sudanese languages. The resolutions of the Rejaf Language Conference (1928) provide the oldest sources and basis for analysing the language

situation in Southern Sudan. Following these sources, a classification of the Southern Sudanese languages is given below with each major group language representing a cluster of intelligible languages or varieties (see Appendix 8 for details on group-language clusters):

- Nilotic group languages comprise three major language communities such as the Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk; and minor ones such as Anuak, Acholi, Jur, Belanda-Bor and Pari-Lokoro.
- Nilo-Hamitic group languages again comprise three major language communities namely the Bari-speaking, Lotuho-speaking and Toposa peoples.
- Sudanic language groups comprising the Zande, Moru, Madi, Ndogo, Mundu, Belanda Bvirri, Bongo, Baka and Feroje.

It is worth noting that this classification of Southern Sudan languages is a variant of Greenberg's two categories (Figure 2 above) of Africa-wide classification two of which (Sudanic and Nilotic) are found in Southern Sudan. The Nilotic group, as we saw in Figure 2 subdivides into Western, Eastern and Southern Nilotic language families.

Altogether these three overarching language families form the basis of and provide the necessary data for our description of the language situation in Southern Sudan. In the absence of up to date evidence to support the description of the general language situation in terms of number of speakers of the various languages, however, it is not possible to provide a robust description or projection of the situation. Instead, general features such as the geographical locations of languages and their speakers and the functional roles of the languages in the three major groups have been used to convey the details in the description of the Southern Sudan language situation.

As the definition of language situation at the beginning of this chapter indicates, the general picture of Southern Sudan language situation, as shown on Map 2, is that of complexity in relation to the rest of the Sudan regions. As Map 2 shows areas 1 (Southern Sudan) and 2 (Darfur and Western Sudan in general) are extremely linguistically diverse. Area 5 where Arabic spread is rooted in sustained historical contacts with Arabs as described earlier contrasts with the 1 and 2. Although by looking at the picture Southern Sudan appears to be the most linguistically diverse

region in the Sudan, a closure look in Map 3 and shows some degree of natural harmony which should be exploited through language policy and planning in order to reduce the perceived heterogeneity.

The relevance of the analysis above to this discussion of the role of indigenous Sudanese languages in educational language policy is not new but needs to be reiterated. The languages of the major ethno-linguistic groups were recommended as official media of education at the Rejaf Language Conference in 1928. Despite the language policy decisions at the Rejaf conference, which grouped dialects or language varieties into single common languages for educational purposes, linguistic diversity still characterises the general language situation in Southern Sudan. The discussion of the nature of this language situation now follows below.

4.5.2. Characteristics of Southern Sudan Linguistic Diversity

According to the model of typical multilingual countries in Africa shown in Chapter 2, Southern Sudan falls within type three where no language dominates over the others. But like most multilingual countries in Africa, for example neighbouring Kenya and Uganda, linguistic diversity in Southern Sudan is celebrated which confirms the attitude of Africans towards multilingualism. Given the ethnic and linguistic diversity in Southern Sudan (Maps 3 and 4), and in spite of the apparent complexity of the language situation, language difference and dialect variation within have so far not posed language-based conflicts. This is perhaps because those languages inhabit wider territories with relatively homogenous neighbouring speech communities which share the same culture if not language. It may also be due to the reason that there is no particular language-based group interest as the languages or dialects do not have any economic and social value or capital attached to them which would have accorded some languages coveted power and status.

To illustrate, the point indicates that the territorial location of language groups in Southern Sudan is coterminous with ethnic spread (see Blommaert, 1999 for a similar observation in Congo) with consequent language variation. All the language groups tend to inhabit contiguous territories and their languages are mutually intelligible. The significance of this phenomenon of linkage between language and territory in relation to these ethnic groups is that they seem to have lived there undisturbed by the major

factors which shape multilingualism such as those discussed in Chapter 2. Although Southern Sudan came under the control of foreign rule, the impact of that contact on the indigenous languages and cultures of the people require studying, but it can be said to have been manageable. This is because those languages and cultures seemed to have continued to predominate regardless of foreign intrusion and control. In general it is assumed that territorial contiguity of the ethnolinguistic groups appears to be helpful in the maintenance of close relationships among those groups. In sociolinguistic terms, as Nyombe puts it:

“The idea is that the closer a group of languages, the more features they share and probably the more intelligible they are to each other” (Nyombe, 1998:130).

The holding together of most Southern Sudanese ethnolinguistic groups may therefore be beneficial in educational language policy and planning sense. In sociolinguistics terms this is referred to as ‘mutual intelligibility’, which is measured by speakers understanding of each other’s language. When this occurs,

“the two or so languages in question are regarded as mutually intelligible and thus dialects of the same language” (Op. cit. p.132).

In Southern Sudan the group language community referred to as Bari (or Bari-speakers in Map 2, 3 and 4) is a good example of speakers of mutually intelligible dialects of the same language. In addition to language mutual intelligibility also indicates closely shared cultural and social resources by his group. It is often assumed that such people had common ancestry or roots, even though as Nyombe (op. cit. p.133) correctly observes, some members of the Bari-speaking group regard themselves and their varieties as distinct people and languages.

Mutual intelligibility is one way of explaining harmony in an otherwise apparent or real linguistic diversity. Another means of explaining why a variety which has common origin with others, which seems to be related to the former criterion is the wave theory (Mansour, 1993). The wave theory, as Mansour explains

“depicts language expansion in the form of waves departing from a monolingual core area. The further the language gets away from the core, the

more it comes into contact with other languages which exert an influence on it and start the process of linguistic change which gets consolidated with time. In this way new varieties arise at the periphery of expanding languages” (Mansour, 1993:15).

The wave theory can help in determining the extent of shared linguistic heritage between or among apparently related languages in multilingual communities. It seemed to have guided the Rejaf language planners in 1928 when the conference resolved to group the genetically affiliated varieties into single languages for educational purposes.

As an explanatory framework for the specific Southern Sudan language situation, one of the strengths of the wave theory is that it enables us to clearly see the relationship between physical, temporal and linguistic distance. In this way we can be able to visualise the extent of language change that has taken place over the years, the fluidity of linguistic boundaries in multilingual societies, and how closely related or further apart the speakers of specific language varieties are, judging by the amount of effort exerted in understanding each other during communication. The principle behind the wave theory can be reasonably explain the linguistic proximity or distance among the Bari-Speaking, the Dinka and the Nuer groups languages for example. Viewed from this perspective, the theory can I think reasonably explain why language varieties apparently mistaken for separate languages in multilingual communities are in fact genetically related and can be grouped, harmonised, developed and promoted as medium of educational, socio-economic and cultural development (see Nyombe, 1998 on a study to harmonise Southern Sudanese languages).

This attempt of the sociolinguistic theory to explain positively the internal relationship among dialects of a language, seems suited to resolving sociolinguistic problems in particular multilingual situations. This is usually done in spite of the tendency by their speakers of regarding apparent mutually intelligible varieties as different languages as the languages usually bear the same names as the corresponding speech communities. This is a common phenomenon which is not only found in Africa and in the developing multilingual countries or regions, but it was prevalent in the old monolingual European nation states. Blommaert (1999) suggests that there is evidence that European colonial rulers imposed their old model on African states. This leads us

to consider the question of status of indigenous African languages spoken in Southern Sudan.

4.6. Status and Functions of the Southern Sudan Indigenous Languages

Due to the lack of credible statistical data, it is not possible to establish the degree of dominance of the individual languages mentioned above in relation to each other and to the respective ethnic groups. However, the largest language group in terms of population of speakers and geographical spread in Southern Sudan is obviously Dinka, the single largest ethnic group in the whole Sudan. As I mentioned earlier, the distribution of languages and ethno-linguistic groups in Southern Sudan is shown in Maps 2 and 3. The two maps indicate that the major linguistic groups such as the Dinka, Nuer, Zande, Bari-speakers Lotuko and Toposa are widely distributed or occupy relatively large and mostly contiguous territories. This territorial distribution of ethno-linguistic groups however says very little about the population speaking those languages or about the languages themselves and their status. For one reason, and notwithstanding the SIL's rough survey of Southern Sudan languages in 1975, the indigenous languages in Southern Sudan have not been thoroughly studied.

As a result of this lack of information, the speakers of these languages are barely aware of the status, role and relationships among their languages, and between those languages and the languages of wider communication namely Arabic and English. This ignorance may be explained in two ways in the context of Sudan. First indigenous African languages are not officially promoted by the state. Rather, in terms of power relations they are discouraged and often devalued in the face of Arabic dominance. Several more reasons can be given for the lack of awareness about the status, roles and relationships among these or their speakers vis-à-vis the powerful languages, for example Arabic and English. However as Mansour (1993) and Prah (1998) observe, it is the lack of language-dialect differentiation, that has often led to exaggerated number of languages in Africa, and in turn it seems to be at the base of language status problem.

4.6.1. Pioneering Linguistic Research and Determination of Linguistic Diversity in Southern Sudan

As in many parts of Africa, the extent of linguistic diversity in the Southern Sudan has been exaggerated as a result of the methods employed by the pioneers of linguistic research, who prescribed that tribal and language names corresponded or coterminous. Mansour (1993), whose work emphasised the role of multilingualism in nation building, strongly criticises the near disservice, inadvertently though it may be, done to African linguistics due to inadequate methodologies employed mainly by Christian Missionaries in the past. Blommaert (1999) refers to the 'descriptive tradition' of the same early missionary and lay linguists who worked on African languages in the Congo, for instance, noting the failure of this approach in properly identifying and describing African languages. Although African linguistics is on course in search of a consensus on how to categorise the languages in the continent's largely multilingual communities, the definition of what is a language and what is a dialect is yet to be resolved. Nyombe (1998) alludes to psycho-sociological and attitudinal factors as one reason for the difficulty in reaching a consensus quickly. Prah (1998) substantively comments on the negative depiction of the African multilingual situation by the colonialist and missionaries saying:

“The separate identification of a great many of these linguistic and ethnic groups was invented through the agency of the colonial process and related missionary linguistic activity. The myth of the African Tower of Babel has however been questioned in previous studies and the argument has been made that in actual fact most of what are regarded as autonomous languages are in reality dialects which can be pooled into wider clusters enjoying significant degrees of mutual intelligibility” (Prah, 1998: 7).

This situation obtains in Southern Sudan, and requires addressing urgently. Nyombe (1998) is one attempt at harmonising the apparently diverse Sudanese languages. The vision involved suggests that the harmonisation approach would result in the reduction of the exaggerated linguistic diversity in terms of number of languages, since mutually intelligible varieties would be standardised and related language families would share features like orthography.

In the meantime, due to the shortcoming expressed in terms such as 'African Tower of Babel', the current account of and attitude to multilingualism in Southern Sudan,

specifically in relation to language status, not a true picture of the language situation there, will continue. Even though this phenomenon was identified and addressed at the Rejaf Language Conference in 1928, and later by SIL in its language survey of Southern Sudan in 1975, lack of further substantive linguistic and sociolinguistic follow-up research on the Southern languages may be to blame for the delay in resolving the language/dialect problem. Sudan's language policy after independence is another reason. But, in fact even as far back as 1928, the Survey of Southern languages before the convening of the Rejaf Conference in April in 1928, discovered that many of the language varieties initially counted as separate languages by the missionaries and agents of the Sudan Colonial government were in fact variants or dialects of those with which they share common ancestry. This fact was immediately brought to the attention of the conference by the conference Chairman in his opening speech when he said:

“little doubt that some of the tongues conventionally enumerated as separate languages are in reality local variants of a common form of speech, and that the names by which they are known are tribal rather than linguistic” (Sudan Government, Rejaf Language Conference Report, 1928:10).

Certainly, the discussion above shows that a great deal needs to be done to resolve the problem of language labelling in order to reduce the apparent proliferation of languages in the South and the linguistic complexity that goes with it. Work involving language surveys in order to study their linguistic affiliation among languages is beyond the scope of this study. However, I can give a gist of how the linguists at the Rejaf Conference arrived at their decisions on status of related Southern languages.

As soon as the phenomena of language variation and mutual intelligibility were identified at the Rejaf Language Conference, it led to the realisation of the concept of group languages. The principle underlying this concept states that out of a number of languages sharing notable common speech, one is identified and selected for immediate standardisation and fostering or cultivation with the objective in mind of using it as a medium of instruction in the education system. The criterion, which was used at Rejaf, is expressed as follows:

“if two vernaculars are so closely related that people speaking one can without serious difficulty understand the other, one of the two should be adopted for educational purposes” (Sudan Government, Rejaf Language Conference Report, 1928:9).

It would appear from this definition that the concept of group languages as viewed at the Rejaf Language Conference, based as it was on identifiable mutual intelligibility of speech of speakers of some of the Southern Sudanese languages, seemed to have only scratched the surface of what appears to be a deep seated kinship or common ancestry of those linguistic communities studied. The wave theory explained above should illuminate and give credence to the group language concept, and thus opens the way for realisation of common and standardised group languages from among the existing varieties. What this means is that the right conditions should be created in the form of correct language policy and planning so that these languages could be cultivated, fostered and promoted in order for them to develop in status and to play their rightful educational roles in addition to the general public function along side the languages of wider communication in Southern Sudan. The analysis of the educational outcomes of the survey of Southern Sudan languages by SIL in 1975 (see Appendix 8), is an attempt at demonstrating the status, value, number and distribution of Southern Sudan languages.

4.6.2. Status and Role of Southern Sudan Indigenous Languages

By 1975 the most pressing language-in-education need of Southern Sudan was the development of its indigenous mother tongues for educational purposes. For that matter an urgent start in the use of local languages in education was expected by way of using the vernacular languages selected as media of education in the 1928 Rejaf Language Conference, since these already have materials and a few teachers. It is worth mentioning that the development and use of indigenous African languages as media of education in Southern Sudan was stalled paradoxically during the independence period when it was expected to be expanded. Several factors were behind the lack of progress in the use and development of local languages in education in Southern Sudan. First there was the brewing political conflict between Southern and Northern Sudan before independence which exploded into the first civil war (1955-1972). Second, there were very poor north-south relations and lack of trust and good will after independence especially as a result of the civil war and central government's attempts to implement the Arabicisation policy in Southern Sudan. The purpose of the SIL language survey of Southern Region was therefore to help the Regional Ministry of Education in the newly formed autonomous Southern Region

government with training of primary level teachers in general and vernacular teachers in particular. Production of learning materials including primers for the various local languages in the Southern Sudan was also one of the SIL aims in the language survey. The survey was, in a sense, a revisiting of the Rejaf Language Conference. However, three linguistic objectives of the language survey need to be mentioned here. These were: 1) to determine and enumerate the Southern languages, 2) to estimate their geographical extent and collect linguistic samples of those languages, and 3) to estimate the level and extent of bilingualism and mutual intelligibilities between neighbouring speech communities.

The SIL language survey report (Appendix 8) shows a more detailed picture of the southern Sudan language situation, based on the linguistic categorisation of the Southern Sudanese Languages according to their status and their roles specifically in education. It shows three dimensions in its analysis of the survey results which includes dividing Southern Sudan into language zones, and the languages given either role A or B which division of labour in turn seems to explain those languages' status and functions.

This analysis appears more related to the educational, cultural and other aims we are seeking to achieve by means of language policy and planning activities in this study. It shows the geographical distribution of major and minor languages in Southern Sudan, and relates language zones and roles of the various languages spoken there. This classification of languages according to zones and roles is useful in discriminating between different languages in the area especially when we take into consideration assigning to them functions. Clearly, the division of Southern Sudan into language zones and assigning the languages roles is an attempt to make sense of the demographic factor and to explain the geographical distribution of languages and their speakers in the South.

As mentioned earlier above the Rejaf Language Conference contributed to the classification of the indigenous languages in Southern Sudan into larger group languages, a decision which resulted in considerable reduction in the number of languages in the region. The SIL language survey report described above added to the process of determining the language situation by assigning roles to both the major and

minor languages. The Role A languages column shows those languages spoken by relatively larger populations. These languages were accorded official status after the Rejaf Language Conference and were used as official languages and media of instruction in schools in their specific communities. The role B languages, on the other hand, were to be used for achieving a degree of literacy among its speakers and for use in the teaching of catechism and the Bible. But more importantly, in a study of bilingual education in the Southern Sudan (Rondyang, 1988), suggests that the classification of languages according to the functions they perform could reduce the level of linguistic complexity in the region, from educational point of view.

As a result of this approach Role A languages, which are clearly represented by the major languages in the group language list I gave earlier above, have the potential of developing into standard regional languages that may have positive consequences on socio-economic development at regional and local level. The conditions that mitigate for the development of Role A languages include contiguity of the areas where the varieties of the group languages are spoken (see Maps 3 and 4), cultural affinity of their speakers, and continuous contacts for trading and social relations purposes. These conditions are known in sociolinguistics to present a situation of internal linguistic homogeneity (Mansour, 1993; and Romaine, 1989), which as I mentioned earlier can facilitate language policy formulation, and implementation of the plans that may result from such policies.

By contrast, the Role B languages show less tendency of territorial continuity. Instead many of them are isolated or tend to be interspersed with the major language groups. Finally, I now turn to the description of the language situation in Southern Sudan vis-à-vis the languages of wider communication (LWC) and lingua franca.

4.7. Position and Status of LWC and Lingua Francas in Southern Sudan

The description of the language situation in Southern Sudan is incomplete without mentioning the roles of the current LWC and lingua francas such as Arabic and English, and recently the apparently growing influence of Swahili, in Southern Sudan particularly in communication and the education system. Whereas Arabic is not regarded as a foreign language in Sudan, it has not been easily accepted by most Southerners and indeed now, by many more Sudanese in geographical Northern

Sudan such as the Nuba, the Funj and even the Fur, as an indigenous Sudanese language either. In fact many Southern Sudanese regard Arabic as non-indigenous to Sudan if not a foreign language. Some arguments by participants in the interviews in this study against indigenous status of Arabic (discussed in Chapters 5 and 6) can be counted as illustrations on this observation. While the argument against the indigenous status of Arabic is supported by considerations of its historical and cultural roots which are traced to its cradle in Arabian Peninsula and the Middle-east in general, it can be argued that Arabic had acquired indigenous status over the years since “the ethnic and the cultural development that the country went through was a two-way process affecting the Arabisation of the indigenous inhabitants and the indigenization or acculturation of the Arabs” (Gray and Hasan, 2002:14). According to this argument, Arabic is said to have acquired indigenised status (with deep local roots) in Sudan in relation to the status of the indigenous Sudanese African languages (Nyombe, 1997). This puts the position of Arabic into the niche of a Sudanese language on historical and political basis. Notwithstanding the indigenised status of Arabic in Sudan it is necessary in the context of this thesis to distinguish between indigenous African languages and Arabic when we discuss the Sudanese language situation.

4.7.1. Position and Status of Arabic and English in Southern Sudan

The historical analysis in Chapter 3 informs us that English has a long history which links it to Southern Sudan in particular and Sudan in general. We are also made aware of the following developments: The root causes of the current unsettled problem of language in education policy involving English and Arabic in Southern Sudan in particular are traced to the beginning of the Condominium rule in 1898, and beyond. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Anglo-Egyptian regime at the time, instead of setting up new administration in the South as they did in the North where both Arabic and English had roles in administration, allowed the Arabic medium administration inherited from the Mahdists to continue. As Sandell puts it:

“In contrast to the North where both Arabic and English were used in the administration, the South began with an administration wholly run in Arabic and gradually changed to English between 1904 and 1918” (Sandell, 1982:48).

An earlier opportunity to establish a clear language policy for Southern Sudan was missed as it later took too long for the British colonial authorities and the Christian Missionaries to debate this subject before any concrete decisions were made.

The introduction of English into Southern Sudan at the beginning of the twentieth century when the Anglo-Egyptian administration was established suggests that historically, there have been close links in Sudan between political decisions, government administration and the teaching of English. This observation enables us to summarise the language situation in the Southern Sudan, in relation to position and status of both Arabic and English, although the two non-indigenous languages complicated the situation. Whereas the Anglo-Egyptian rulers had a clear and simple administrative and educational language policy based on English and Arabic at the local level, administration in Southern Sudan was first run in Arabic. Although under the supervision of British inspectors Egyptian 'Mamurs' were the local government administrative staff responsible for most of the daily routine. This explains one reason for the use of Arabic initially in the South, before gradually and discreetly the administration was converted into using English. What this meant for the development of language policy in Southern Sudan was that it took many years, from about 1910 and 1928 (Sanderson and Sanderson, 1981), when such a policy was at last formulated. During this phase, the position of English versus that of Arabic was enhanced when in 1930 the declaration of the Southern Administrative Policy meant English and local languages were recognised as the medium of 'native' administration. Several reasons can be cited for the delay in the development of language policy in Southern Sudan and above all for its eventual dual nature after the colonial period. Among other reasons, competing interests of the partners in the Condominium was the main reason. But the outcome of the struggle between the partners was always unbalanced and pointing to one direction in favour of English language and the British component in the colonial administration. As the English language-based Southern Policy was being gradually implemented in the second phase between 1918 and 1930, Arabic was made illegal in the Southern Sudan (ibid). Some of the factors that enhanced the position of English in the Southern Sudan included:

- 1) Convening of the Rejaf Language Conference in 1928,

- 2) Exertion of efforts by the colonial administrators in the South aimed at promoting English as the language of communication in the Southern Sudan, and
- 3) Legitimising and implementing the Southern Policy more decisively during the 1918 and 1930 period, and from then into the 1940s.

The British were driven in their promotion of English in Southern Sudan not only by the motive of replacing Arabic as an official language but also by the desire to supplant the Arabic role as a lingua franca in Southern Sudan with that of English. As it became clear at the Rejaf Language Conference debate on the status of Arabic, it was made clear by the conference Chairman that

“it was the policy of the Sudan Government gradually to replace Arabic by English as the language for correspondence and accounts in Government Offices in the Southern Sudan.” (Sudan Government, Report of the Rejaf Language Conference, 1928:22).

The motive of the Rejaf debate was promotion of English and discouragement of Arabic as a lingua franca in Southern Sudan. The question was how to make this sociolinguistic project feasible.

Holmes describes a lingua franca as “a language used for communication between people whose first languages differ” (1992:28). As mentioned earlier in the explanation of factors that enhance multilingualism, a lingua franca may develop through trading and commercial activities in multilingual situations. It may also be as a result of imposing an official or national language to serve, in Fishman’s (1989) terms, either nationalist (pragmatic) or nationalist (local) interests. The British colonial government in Sudan first preferred to impose English as an official language, arguably for pragmatic reasons, through the Christian missions which it allowed the monopoly of establishing education in Southern Sudan, although with little cooperation and financial assistance from the government. Later in mid 1920s however, cooperation between the Missionary Societies and the colonial government improved and led to the provision of educational services in the South. So the need for a language policy which was to be based on the vernacular languages and English increased, and replacement of Arabic in Southern Sudan gained grounds. All in all the odds were against the development of the status and role of Arabic. The development of the Southern Policy meant that Arabic along side the cultural practices and outlook

associated with it were outlawed in the South. Whether or not this British colonial policy was properly thought out, its negative repercussions on the language situation in continue to affect Southern Sudan today. Under the conditions imposed against Arabic, its position, status and role in Southern Sudan was diminished. Nonetheless, Khartoum apparent attempts at reversing the British colonial legacy after independence by, in their turn, imposing Arabic on the South and discouraging English all over the country, rather than solving the problem, appears to have complicated the matter. It is this Khartoum approach to language policy which has made the post-independence Arabicisation policy the subject of this study.

Paradoxically, in spite of the Sudan colonial government efforts to promote it as a lingua franca of Southern Sudan, English has only managed to become the lingua franca of educated Southerners. Although there is little evidence to back my claims, the number of speakers of English may not have increased in proportion to similar increase in the number of indigenous languages speakers or even Arabic, since it was adopted as the language of education in 1928, and official language of the colonial government in Southern Sudan in 1930. As the resident Inspector of Southern Education predicted on the sixth year of the implementation of Southern Policy that

“English would be the language of the educated native and the avenue for further study. It would be standard English, properly spoken” (Sudan Government Document, 1936).

In spite of this the colonial rulers did not think it was the right time to dictate or prescribe to the people of Southern Sudan what language to use in inter-group communication or as a lingua franca. The Southerner

“will choose what is most useful to him, with the least effort. It may be Swahili if links with the south tighten” (ibid).

This conclusion was a culmination of the extended debate among the British colonial administrators in the Southern Sudan in the late 1920s, as to the possibilities of creating a lingua franca for educational purposes in the Southern Sudan, in the same way Kiswahili is in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania and Hausa in Northern Nigeria. The debate continued unabated until it was brought to a conclusion at the 1928 Rejaf Language Conference when it was resolved that except in areas where a lingua franca has become the vernacular of a community as in some Southern districts, for example

in Western Bahr El Ghazal, it was not necessary to develop or introduce a third language in addition to local mother tongues and English into the Southern schools (Sudan Government, Report of Rejaf Language Conference, 1928:23).

The discussion of the language situation and language policy developments above show that decisions on language policy and language use in the Southern Sudan very much depended (and still depend) on prevailing political considerations which are a function of relations between central government in Khartoum and Southern Sudan. From the discussion above, it seems to me that the legacy of colonial language policy in Southern Sudan has greatly influenced language policy decisions in Sudan during the post-independence period at both the central and regional government levels. This influence may continue so long as the language situation and the problems it generates in the country remain unsettled.

4.7.2. Position, Status and Role of Juba Arabic

A local brand of Arabic in the Southern Sudan plays the role of a pidgin or pidgin-creole as Mahmud (1983) and Nyombe (1984) refer to it. Holmes describes a pidgin as “a language which has no native speakers” (Holmes, 1992: 90). In referring to Juba Arabic as a pidgin-creole Mahmud (1983) implies that this Arabic variety is spreading and therefore gaining native speakers. Known variously as Mangalese (Sanderson and Sanderson, 1981), Bimbashi Arabic (Ayik, 1986), Kinubi (Nhial, 1975), and Southern Arabic or Juba Arabic (the most popular reference), the different names of the Southern Arabic variety are evidence of the historical evolution through which Juba Arabic has travelled since the 19th century when the Turco-Egyptian colonial rulers sought the control of the Nile Valley. Whatever the strength of the argument of Mahmud (ibid), Hindi (2000), and others who claim that the spread of Juba Arabic in Southern Sudan in the 20th century is an indication of an advanced process of language shift from indigenous languages to Arabic, the fact remains that a pidgin variety in the form of Juba Arabic usually grows out of the a practical communication necessity in a multilingual situation. The Southern Sudanese nascent urban centres in the second half of the 19th century or the currently growing towns like Juba provide the condition necessary for the development of a common language with the status and role similar to that of Juba Arabic. The Southern pidgin Arabic serves the purpose of communication where, to paraphrase Holmes (1992) two groups speaking different

languages need to communicate in a situation where there is a dominant third language. As Mahmud (1983) puts it correctly, Juba Arabic currently stands as the unchallenged pidgin/creole serving the role of a lingua-franca for the urban duellers among the multilingual people of Southern Sudan, with an estimated 20,000 people who speak it as first language, and 44,000 as second language (SIL Ethnologue, Sudan, 1998). The current position and status of Arabic in Southern Sudan, like that of English, was also debated in the colonial days. One of the Rejaf Language conference resolutions in relation to Arabic regarded its use as a medium of instruction, but to be written in Roman alphabet, in areas of Bahr-el-Ghazal province then where Arabic predominated (Sanderson, 1963). So long as the South and the North remain linked together politically and economically, some form of Arabic was inevitable. In spite of this position, however, learning and using Arabic (especially the standard and the Northern Sudanese dialects) remains for most Southerners a matter of pragmatic choice.

As is the case in most situations where pidgin languages have evolved, most speakers of Juba Arabic are not aware at all that they are speaking a non-indigenous or foreign language. This attitude and feeling confirms the fact that a pidgin is in deed an indigenous language, a local creation to meet communication needs of speakers of different languages. Holmes (1992) puts this point more clearly when she says:

“Pidgin languages are created from the combined efforts of people who speak different languages. Both sides generally contribute to the sounds, the vocabulary and the grammatical features, and some additional features may emerge which are unique to the new variety” (Holmes, 1992:91).

As an indigenous variety Juba Arabic has roots and cradle in the Bari area in particular and the neighbouring Bari-speaking counties (or districts) in the present day Bahr-el-Jebel (or central Equatoria) State. In this sense Juba Arabic is structurally evolving mostly along the lines of the local vernaculars, especially the Bari group-language and its six component dialects all of which have concentrated presence in and around Juba the capital of Southern Sudan, as they did when Rejaf and Mangala were the seats of colonial administrations. Beyond these government urban centres the evolution of Juba Arabic and influences on its growth and development can be traced to the dynamic trade activities in the surrounding areas extending up to about 50 to 100 miles radius to important Sudan-Uganda and Sudan-Congo border and traditional

commercial towns such as Nimule, Kapoeta and Torit, as well as Kajo-Keji and Yei. In recent years the centres and routes of Juba Arabic spread extended from Juba and the above mentioned satellite towns to include other important government towns like Maridi, Yambio, to the west and river ports, for example, Mangala, Terekeka and Bor northwards. These towns have commercial and government activities which link the evolution of Juba Arabic to them. Regardless of that possibility, from linguistic point of view, and as a consequence of contact with the local languages of the area where it emerged, Juba Arabic has similar linguistic and phonological structure to that of Bari in particular, with which its genesis is associated. In 'Juba Arabic from a Bari Perspective', Nyombe (1984) examines those shared linguistic roots and provides a substantive explanation of similarities in grammatical structural as well as phonological systems of Bari and Juba Arabic as evidence to illustrate this claim.

Whether this structural make-up of Juba Arabic will endure in the face of Arabisation campaigns by successive Khartoum regimes remains a begging question. Mitigating factors such as the civil wars and displacement of populations seem to produce confusing results. But the movement of a great number of people to Northern Sudan, the neighbouring African countries, and overseas, in the last civil war (1983-2005) must have lasting influence on Juba Arabic and local languages. Only a more focused sociolinguistic study of the situation may delineate the extent of the impact of the Arabisation and Islamisation campaign on the linguistic and Cultural fabrics of Southern Sudan. While the effects of the last war on language loss or shift is yet to be measured through sociolinguistic studies, there is reason to believe that the indigenous languages have as usual only survived the onslaught along side Juba Arabic as a *lingua franca*. Miller and Abu-Manga (1992) findings on their study of marginalised immigrants to Khartoum suburbs provide rare clues regarding current trends as well as perhaps future predictions. There is no doubt that the use of Juba Arabic (for the displaced people who remained in the Southern Sudan towns including SPLM/A administered areas) as well as Northern Arabic or Khartoum variety has gained more speakers from Southern Sudan. Whether this spread of the Arabic variety in Southern Sudan is to be viewed as a shift to the mainstream standard Arabic from indigenous languages that would lead to a major social change that would result in the end of multilingualism, as Mahmud (1983) and Hindi (2000) argue remains to be researched. However, as it was pointed out by Jernudd (1979) the reality on the

ground indicates that the current language situation in Sudan in general, and in Southern Sudan in particular, has been and will probably remain fluid for a long time. The implementation of the January 2005 CPA is likely to be followed by a massive return of Sudanese from Northern Sudan and the neighbouring East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. It is likely that they will bring into Southern Sudan additional languages such as Swahili, the lingua franca of East Africa and the Great Lakes Region which includes Burundi, Rwanda and Eastern D R Congo.

4.7.3. Position, Status and Role of Swahili in Southern Sudan

In a similar vein, Southern Sudanese refugees in East Africa: Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, have acquired Swahili, among other languages, as a result of long stay in those countries. As the major lingua franca in East Africa and the Great Lakes Region which include the originally non-Swahili-speaking countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, and Democratic Republic of Congo, Swahili has a chance of spreading in Southern Sudan. There are now children of Sudanese refugees in Kenya and Uganda who speak Swahili as a first language, although most young people and the refugee population as a whole speak it as a second language. Some of these children, in Kenya for example, attend schools which use Swahili as the language of instruction at the primary school level. As mentioned above, the expected returning population into Southern Sudan particularly from the East Africa countries is likely to facilitate the spread of Swahili in Southern Sudan. If we add to the movement of people the fact that there are currently strong trading, commercial and socio-economic ties between Southern Sudan and its East African neighbours, we will understand the extent to which these relationships are likely to boost the spread and role of Swahili in Southern Sudan. The above description of multilingualism in relation to language situation in Southern Sudan shows how complex the situation is, and how difficult it will be for education authorities in the region to deal with the phenomenon during the forthcoming period which should be witnessing the implementation of the recently signed North-South peace agreement.

4.8. Conclusion

Chapter 2 overviewed the Sudan language situation and showed that the country is characterised by linguistic diversity. This state of language situation was referred to by scholars such Bamgbose (2000), Mansour (1993) and Ouane (2003) as a normal

state of affair in Africa. The nature and extent of Sudan's linguistic diversity was then described by examining language distribution according to families and the ethno-linguistic groups which speak them. The scanty language surveys as well as sociolinguistic studies carried out in Sudan after independence tend to confirm Sudan's linguistic diversity and multilingualism as typical language feature and behaviour of its people. The findings and observations by Jernudd (1979), Mahamud (1983) and Miller and Abu-Manga (1992) emphasise the multilingual future of Sudan which language policy makers and other planners of socio-economic and cultural policies should take cognizance of. The task in the development of the subsequent chapters is to discuss multilingualism from the perspective of an asset or resource rather than a problem. That was why the various languages spoken in Southern Sudan including indigenous languages, English and Arabic as official languages, and pidgins/creoles (e.g. Juba Arabic), were described in relation to their positions, status, and roles in society. Absence of indigenous languages in the status a role debate showed the extent of neglect of this category of Sudanese languages by previous (colonial) and existing (post-independence) language policies.

Nevertheless, the discussion of language situation in multilingual context provides a theoretical framework for the discussion in Chapters 6 through 8 as well as the concluding Chapter 9. In spite of the complexity of the multilingual situation this study, whose main purpose is to raise and spread awareness about language issues in society, will be worthy of its purpose if it discuss the post-independence Khartoum language policy in some depth as well as ventures into proposing possible solutions in the subsequent chapters. Before I embark on this endeavour it is necessary to explain in Chapter 5 some of the pertinent theoretical concepts and approaches to language policy and planning which will serve as yet another framework in the discussions on post-independence Sudan's language policies and their implementation.

Chapter 5

Conceptual Frameworks and Approaches to Language Policy and Planning

5.1. Introduction

The task in Chapter Five is to define and explain language policy and planning concepts and related theoretical frameworks and models. The terms language planning and language policy are defined both from their earlier conception on structural economic basis as well as from a variety of relevant social contexts to facilitate our understanding of the interrelationships among language policy and planning ideas and approaches. For example, the discussion seeks to clarify the debate in the current literature as to whether language planning or language policy should be given priority when we deal with language problems that require making deliberate efforts to resolve them. It will become obvious that prioritization of either concept depends on the particular language situation or context. The discussion of the defining characteristics of language policy and planning are crucial in the subsequent explanation and understanding of the conceptual frameworks and approaches to language planning. They are also important in linking the language policy and planning frameworks to the current perspectives on language policy and planning in the subsequent section. In this sense Chapter Five places equal emphasis on critical language policy perspectives and ideas (Tollefson, 1991; 2006), since the discussion helps to highlight several post-colonial perspectives such as colonization and governmentality (Tollefson, 2006; Pennycook, 2006), linguistic imperialism and linguicism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988; Phillipson, 1988), and dependency (Mbaabu 1996), particularly in its cultural sense. As we can see from the titles, and in relation to this study, the perspectives mentioned above form an equally important part of the discussions on conceptual frameworks and approaches to language policy and planning. Following Blommaert (1996) these analytical frameworks of language policy and planning are products of or have critical ideological basis. These will be discussed under critical language policy perspectives.

5.2. Context and Definitions of Language Policy and Planning

5.2.1. Context of Language Planning

Current literature on sociolinguistics traces the development of language planning to the late 1950s and 1960s when it appeared on the sociolinguistic scene. However, as Cooper (1989, pp 42-43) explains, there is evidence that the developments are linked to post-Second World War period when scholars in the West sought investing in social-science research as an approach to finding solutions to pressing social problems both at home and abroad. Some of those problems, like efforts to improve the socio-economic conditions of minorities and to integrate refugees into the American society, had language components. Similarly, language components of mounting social and economic development problems of the newly independent states, which were emerging from mainly European colonization, represented the pressing concerns of sociolinguistic scholars abroad. These states were and still are characterised by linguistic diversity, which meant they had to allocate existing official national language(s) to various roles, in addition to considering the development of indigenous languages in order that they meet some of the functions.

The concept of language planning was first formally adopted by Haugen in 1959 (see Bamgbose, 2000) as a mechanism for solving language problems in Norway through standardisation of Norwegian. Since then the concept has developed, especially after Rubin and Jernudd (1971) published a seminal contributions by sociolinguists which show that language can in deed be planned. Subsequent development of the idea led to the inclusion of the policy aspect of language planning. The term language policy and planning as it is now referred to in the literature (see for example Hornberger (2006), indicates strong conceptual linkage rather than separation of the two notions as will appear in the definitions below.

5.2.2. Definitions of Language Policy and Planning

Because it must be based on specific language situations in different societies, language planning cannot be defined in one particular way. Cooper (1989, pp. 30-31) discusses the merits and demerits of a dozen of such definitions from language planning scholars. Although the exercise leaves one with knowledge of the pros and

cons of each definition, it leaves one with a vague and inconclusive view of language planning. However, the real lesson one learns from this experience is that language planning can be defined in narrow or broad terms. It can also be defined in situation-specific and situation-neutral terms as we will find out in the discussion of definitions below. What I need for the purpose of this research, however, is a definition which brings together the most relevant concepts that contribute to understanding a particular framework that can be adapted for discussing the issues relating to language policy and planning.

Consideration of language as a resource (Jernudd, and Das Gubta, 1971) has meant subjecting it to planning processes similar to those utilised in economic planning. This further meant that language policy and planning had to be considered in terms of systematic and deliberate approach. From the foregoing discussion, it can be said that current definitions of language planning owe it to the organised effort adopted from conventional planning for economic resources. Thus one of the early definitions of language planning refers to

“an activity whereby goals are established, means are selected, and outcomes predicted in a systematic and explicit manner” (Rubin, 1971: 218).

A more expanded version of the above definition by Rubin and Jernudd (1971) shows a broader conception of the term which includes pre-planning, implementation and evaluation activities involved in language planning. Rubin and Jernudd define language planning as deliberate language change affecting the language system, or its use or both. They conceive language planning as a problem-solving mechanism which involves ‘fact-finding’ or identification of problems in society, ‘planning’ or establishing goals, selecting appropriate means or strategies and predicting outcomes, ‘implementation’ or follow up of a plan, and ‘feedback’ to see whether the plan has actually produced the intended outcome or whether there is a need to revise the original plan and to re-establish goals (Rubin and Jernudd (1971:xvi; also Rubin, 1984:4). The above definitions of language planning comprise some of the essential components in current theoretical frameworks and models of language policy and

planning, which are evident in the discussion of the language policy and planning frameworks below.

Cooper (1989) contributes a more comprehensive and situation-neutral definition of language planning, in addition to an elaborate descriptive framework of language planning. In my view both contributions provide researchers with a useful definition and a systematic scheme (Cooper, 1989, p.98 for details) that can help researchers working on language planning issues, who may need to use it, to account for all aspects involved in the analysis of those problems. According to Cooper

“Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes” (Cooper, 1989:45).

Cooper’s justification of this definition is worth noting here as it explains some of the practicalities involved in understanding language planning. Cooper writes:

“This definition neither restricts the planners to authoritative agencies, nor restricts the type of the target group, nor specifies the ideal form of planning. Further, it is couched in behavioural rather than problem-solving terms. Finally, it employs the term influence rather than change in as much as the former includes the maintenance or preservation of current behaviour, a plausible goal of language planning, as well as the change of current behaviour” (ibid).

It seems Cooper as formulated a language planning definition for all contexts, for all situations and for all moments.

From this definition one can identify the three types or aspects of language planning namely, status, corpus and acquisition planning, which currently literature on language policy and planning frameworks, for example, Ager (2001), and Nyati-Ramahobo (1998), show form important components of language policy and planning frameworks. Status planning is concerned with what governments (central or regional) or communities do to enhance the status of languages in a policy by allocating them functions in society. Corpus planning is the area where communities, researchers or government agencies undertake the development of language or languages with respect to orthographies, standardisation and modernisation of forms. Acquisition planning refers to efforts of a given society aimed at organising and planning strategies aimed at enhancing the acquisition or learning of languages within a

specified policy (Ager, 2001, p. 6). The three types of language planning briefly discussed above will appear prominently in the discussion of language policy and planning frameworks in the subsequent section in this chapter. The above definitions of language planning are not linked to any particular language planning situation, and the policy component does not appear explicitly, although it may be implied in the planning process. Following below is a discussion of situation-specific definitions of language policy and planning.

5.2.3. Situation-Specific Definitions of Language Policy and Planning

Although the definitions above show an organised and rational approach to language planning, they do not explicitly show the role of language policy, which as I have mentioned above is a component part of language planning, and apparently accorded a leading role in the developing countries. In this sense the definitions may only imply the influence of society on language policy and planning. But judging from the response of Bamgbose (2000) to the above definitions, these conceptions of language planning most remarkably do not address themselves directly to the language problems of developing post-colonial states, including African countries which are policy oriented. Language problems which seem to demand the policy approach to language planning include making choices from among several languages or varieties in multilingual countries, developing or standardising non-standard languages, teacher training and provision of learning materials. Despite this omission, the definitions provide useful theoretical frameworks which enhance our conceptualisation of language planning and language policy within it. Discussion of the link between language planning and language policy in the context of developing post-colonial countries or communities follows below.

The conception of language policy and planning as a problem-solving mechanism has made it possible to address the language problems of multilingual countries in general and the developing post-colonial multilingual countries in Africa, in particular. In recognition of the deliberate and organised problem-solving nature of language planning, therefore, most language planning scholars have come to accept that the term refers to “the study of organised efforts to find solutions to societal language problems” (Fishman, 1972:186), or to “all conscious efforts to affect the structure or

function of language varieties (Tollefson, 1991:16).” Whereas Fishman emphasises the problem-solving nature of language planning, Tollefson specifies the types of language problems tackled in language planning. However, Tollefson (ibid) links language policy decision making with governments when he suggests that

“The commonly-accepted definition of language policy is that it is language planning by governments” (ibid). Like Tollefson, Ager (2001: 5) defines language policy as “official planning carried out by those in political authority, and has clear similarities with any other form of public policy”.

The above definitions clearly show language planning subsumes or includes politically motivated efforts aimed at finding solutions to language problems in society. The definitions address themselves to problems of language in multilingual and multicultural societies. The definitions, however, are not oriented towards situation-specific areas of language planning such as in the post-independence and developing countries or regions in Africa where language policy and planning is a government business. So far, in the discussion, there is no evidence of preference or prioritising of either the planning or policy approach in the discussion of the definition of language policy and planning.

5.3. Policy or Planning Prioritizing

To highlight this point, researchers who focus their attention on language problems in African society, such as Bamgbose (2000, p. 97), Eastman (1992, p. 96), echo the above conceptualisation of language policy and planning. However, they go a step further and point out the reasons why language planning in Africa is concerned primarily with policy and with enhancing the status of indigenous languages so that they have a role in socio-economic development. Bamgbose points out that

“language planning in African has been geared to language policy formulation, particularly as reaction to the erstwhile colonial policies (ibid)”.

According to Bamgbose, language policy in the context of Africa is linked to government decisions affecting language status, which explains his definition of language policy “as a programme of action on the role or status of a language in a given community (Bamgbose, 1991:111).” Such major action-plans are usually governmental or authorised by the state in the developing countries. For this reason,

political or socio-economic considerations play a role in the distinction between language policy decisions which affect the status of the language(s) involved because they are part and parcel of government authority, and decisions which affect language corpus which call for implementation activities which can be carried out by language planning experts. This observation explains why language planning is concerned with differential allocation of functions to languages in relation to domains in speech communities or assigning role to language varieties in terms of their use as part of the speech economy (Eastman, 1992).

Like Bamgbose, Cooper (1989), observes that language planning varies with specific language situations as it is concerned with directing a variety of means toward a variety of ends. According to this observation, the need of a particular community or society could be revival of a language as in the case of Hebrew in Israel, in which case codification and standardisation approaches are given priority. It could be mass literacy campaign as in the former Socialist Ethiopia (1974-1991), where language policy and planning involved political decisions on the status of the various indigenous Ethiopian languages. In India, language planning is emphasised as the country implements language policies. Implementation involves the development and spread of the official languages at the federal and state levels (Das Gupta, 1977). These examples show that language policy and/or planning is a situation-related undertaking, and that the concept should therefore be defined appropriately.

Although the Christian missionaries were the first to institute language planning in Africa, that effort was not sustained apparently as a result of unsettled political situations in the continent. Nevertheless the missionaries were the first to study, develop and use the mother tongues of the communities where they were based, and from where they operated, as medium of teaching the gospel and few other subjects such as the languages themselves, maths and general knowledge in the early missionary education systems. In most cases the decision to adopt a particular language as a medium of instruction was arbitrary. Moreover, the colonial powers later imposed their respective languages in the mainly missionary education systems, which apparently made the situation more complex. Furthermore, post-independence attempts at finding solutions to language problems in most African countries have been faced with the colonial legacy. The above explanation shows that the history of

language policy and planning in Africa has continued to influence and, in some cases, determine the current efforts to find solutions to language problems in African countries. Colonial legacy, a factor which has historical roots, is therefore emphasised among other reasons why status planning seems to be given the upper hand in Africa by most language planning researchers, as the explanation below shows.

Although Bamgbose (ibid) supports prioritising of language policy and treats it separately from language planning according to the distinction made in the above definition (and in other discussions as we will find out below), he recognises that there is no hard line dividing the essentially twin concept when it comes to policy decisions by government or authorised body is concerned. He suggests “the test of ultimate approval” (Bamgbose, p. 110) or the level at which decisions affecting language are made, to show if the efforts are on language policy and rest with the government, or planning by non-governmental agencies. The application of this test, however, indicates how closely linked the concepts of language policy and planning are, and how artificial the attempts to distinguish between them is.

To Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) who also argue from the perspective of developing countries language policy-making comes after plans “intended to promote systematic linguistic change in some community of speakers” have been laid down (Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997:xi). According to these authors, once such plans have been set, the need for a policy to direct the plan becomes necessary. At this stage, the government promulgates a language policy, usually in a parliament. Any authorised body or agency could also carry out this activity. In this sense, they define language policy as “a body of ideas, laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve the planned language change in the society, group or system” (ibid). The merit of such laws, Kanplan and Baldauf (ibid) claim, is in the evaluation of language planning. Fettes (1997, cited in Hornberger, 2006), however, gives a perspective of language policy planning which contrasts with the prioritising of Kaplan and Baldauf above. He argues that:

‘Language planning...must be linked to the critical evaluation of language policy: the former providing the standards of rationality and effectiveness, the latter testing this against actual practice in order to promote the development of better...language planning models. Such a field would be better described

as language policy and planning' (Fettes, 1997, cited in Hornberger, 2006, p.25).

As Hornberger (*ibid*) observes, Fettes' and Kaplan and Baldauf's arguments indicate that there is no agreement on the exact nature of the relationship between language policy and planning, even though the acronym LPP not only reminds us about the inextricability of policy from planning, but also "as a way around the lack of agreement" (*ibid*). Regardless of which of the two approaches to finding solutions to language problems should take the lead, Bamgbose (2000) criticises both approaches to language planning as rational. But as we have seen from his contribution to the definition of language policy and planning above, he argues for prioritising policy formulation over planning or fact-finding and setting of goals in language planning in the context of Africa. Prioritising is implied in Bamgbose's comment that

"if progress is to be made in respect of language planning on the continent, serious attention will have to be paid to the mechanism for implementing language policies" (Bamgbose, 2000:118).

Here I understand implementation of language policy to mean planning on how to proceed after policy formulation. In addition to the historical reasons cited above, it is worth reiterating the view that some of the reasons why policy-making takes top position in language planning in Africa are the lack of stable democratic government, influence of dictatorial leadership, and lack of continuity.

The various definitions reviewed above support Cooper's conclusion that "There is no single universally accepted definition of language planning" (Cooper, 1989: 29). Given the discussion above about varieties of social contexts of language-related problems, I find this observation accurate, which leads me to sum up the discussion and to emphasise the view that language policy and planning are two faces of the same coin. Based on this view, it is appropriate to add that it is not so much the prioritising of policy as being dictated by conditions in a specific language situation which necessitate policy or planning approaches. As we will see in the discussion of theoretical frameworks below, this pragmatic view is supported by the presence of policy and planning approaches as prominent components of the current models of language policy and planning. The question which has not featured in the above discussion is to what extent language policy and planning is critically conceptualised

given that in theory and in practice language situations are regulated and influenced by historical, social, and political factors. This point will be discussed after examining conceptual frameworks or models of language policy and planning in the section which follows below.

5.4. Conceptual Frameworks for Language Planning

As theoretical frameworks of language planning facilitate the understanding of concepts and the relationship among various ideas involved. It is useful in this study to review some of the pertinent models which explain the concepts and processes of language policy and planning. Below I discuss two examples of theoretical frameworks which explain those concepts and processes.

Haugen's model of language planning as shown in Figure 3 (see Haugen, 1987, and Fishman, 1972) is a good example of a language planning framework in that it incorporates the essential concepts of language planning that one can utilise in the discussion of language policy and planning in a specific situation. It covers status and corpus planning. The components of the two types of language planning are described in Figure 3 below. Status planning involves: (1) Selection of a language variety from several alternatives and allocating it functions, and (3) implementation process which involves the spread of the selected and standardised language or variety. On the other hand corpus planning involves: (2) Codification which is concerned with standardisation procedures involving for example development of grammar and orthography of the selected language variety, and (4) elaboration which is concerned with modernisation process of the language aspects including its vocabulary, creation of new forms and their usage, modernising terminology, and so forth. It is possible to conclude that the two models are variants of each other, and that the differences in their conception of language planning processes are borne out of different foci or emphasis as to the type of planning process.

Figure 3: Haugen's Revised Model of Language Planning. Source: Haugen, 1987: p. 64)

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5.4.1 Adapting Conceptual Frameworks to Multilingual Situations

Although the concept of language planning can have both universal and specific application as shown by the definitions above, as the situation-specific definitions show particular language situations demand that definitions and models of language planning are not adopted without paying due attention to the sociolinguistic factors or conditions prevailing on the ground. Such is the need for selective or critical application of language planning models that researchers interested in studying language problems in the developing states, in Africa for example, have tried to pick relevant conceptual models of language planning that suit their situations. This explains the importance of sociolinguistic principles that should dictate the definition or the type of language planning, as the examples given earlier from Das Gupta on the Indian context and from Eastman on Africa reveal.

Yet, as Bamgbose (2000) observes, some scholars ask whether language planning ever really takes place in Africa. They seem to ask this question based on the fact that conditions (linguistic, social, political and so on) in many countries simply do not allow for this activity, and also because of the fact that the notion of planning is mostly restricted to policy decisions at the level of government. As Bamgbose argues it seems those who often doubt that language planning ever takes place in the context of Africa are those who view language planning in the conventional sense as shown by Rubin's (1971) definition discussed earlier. In that definition Rubin presents

language planning as a neat process whose steps involved finding facts, before decision making, considering alternatives, and considering a scheme in which goals are established, means are selected and outcomes predicted in a systematic manner. While one cannot rule out this type of language planning in Africa, conditions there do not favour it. The variables include: a) Multilingualism or linguistic heterogeneity. b) Colonial legacy of enforced official languages, often non-indigenous, and mostly the language of colonial rulers c). The role of education as an agent of social change using language as the medium for spreading that change. d) High incidence of illiteracy. e) Concern for communication among the various ethnic groups, need for national integration and for development. These factors are real in the context of Africa and are indicators of a complex language situation that requires more than those neatly defined models of language planning. The best that a language researcher in an African situation can do is to work on formulation of viable language policies as the initial stages of language planning (Bamgbose, 2000; p. 98).

Here, Bamgbose concurs with Eastman in stating that from the policy formulation perspective, language planning in Africa dates back to the era of the Christian Missionaries and individual communities. That the whole of Africa owes to these missionaries the little that has been done on the development of indigenous languages is a fact no one can deny. Everybody else seems to have followed on the footsteps of the Missionaries as far as language and educational development are concerned including the colonial rulers, international bodies such as UNESCO and national governments.

The language planning frameworks discussed above, for example Cooper's (1989) definition, and Haugen's (1987) model already put in place the key concepts of language planning process from which researchers in this field can formulate and adapt working models. For instance, Nyati-Ramahobo (1998) and Mc Nab (1989) utilise the key components in Cooper's definition and in Haugen's framework mentioned above to suggest working models for language planning in Botswana and Ethiopia respectively. For the purpose of illustrating a guiding model of language policy and planning, I will adopt the Botswana language policy and planning model because it is comprehensive, that is it incorporates the essential concepts discussed in

the language policy and planning definitions and the frameworks above. Discussion of the Botswana model now follows below.

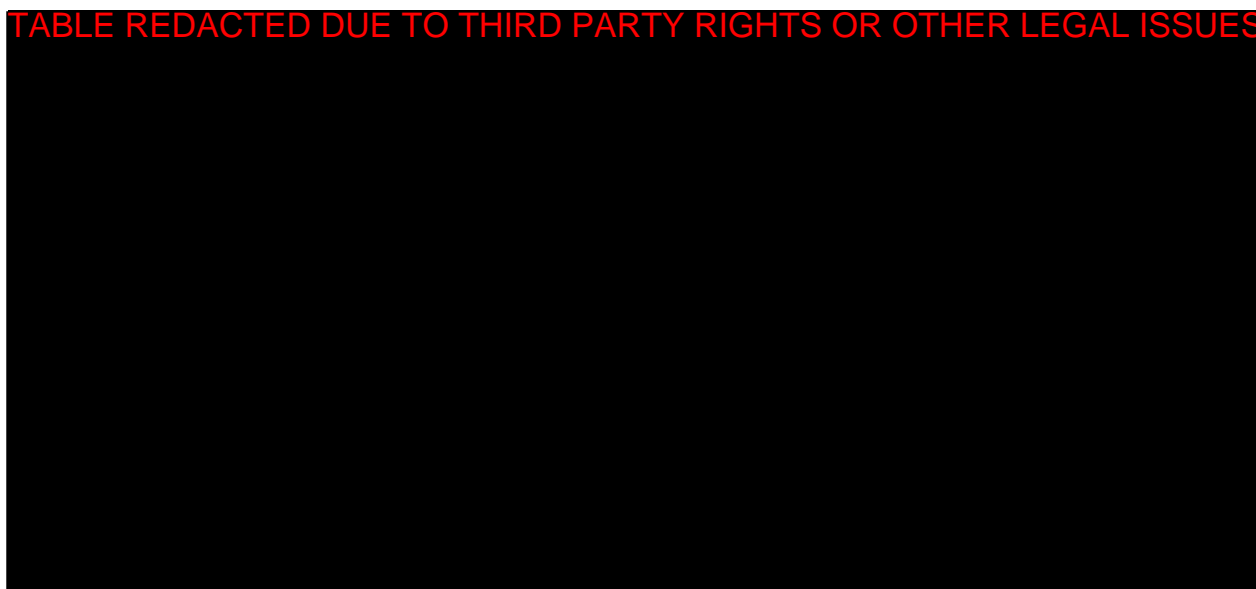
5.5. A Post-Colonial Model of Language Policy and Planning

In the Botswana study, Nyati-Ramahobo (1998) separates language-planning approaches from processes, albeit without pointing out the ideological basis of the perspectives. She formulates two models to analyse language planning involving Setswana, the national language of Botswana. One framework (see Figure 4) describes the approaches, types and goals, and the other (see Figure 5) processes of language planning. The component parts of the initial and the second model are described below.

In establishing the concepts for the language planning model Nyati-Ramahobo (ibid) states that language planning can be described in terms of types and approaches employed by the planners, the processes they carry out, the goals they wish to achieve, and the orientations or variables influencing the planning process. Language planning goals to be achieved include abstract goals, for example, officialisation and nationalisation, and practical goals, for example, interlingual communication, standardisation, human resource development and material production goals. And the types of language planning are status, corpus, status, and acquisition planning. In other words, whether from the onset of the planning process the language planner wanted to make and act upon decisions that would affect language structure per se, its functions or roles, or its learning and spread as measured by the number of users. In this conception of language planning approaches vary in relation to the level at which planning takes place. At some point the decision to be taken is simply on specific policy, and therefore a short term and limited process takes place. In other instances long-term actions are required and are aimed at extending and implementing the decision. Language planning goals are set within the whole context of planning environments and they represent political, ideological, economic, socio-cultural and other values. In this model it is the goal that determines the direction of change (linguistic or social/behavioural) envisaged by the planner. It is commonplace in the literature on language planning to recognise that any conceptual framework is governed by an iterative or interactive relationship in the workings of its component processes rather than linear activity. The initial model which Nyati-Ramahobo utilises

for analysing language planning in Botswana is a good example and is represented by the figures 4 and 5 below.

Figure 4: Types, Approaches and Goals of Language Planning. Source: Nyati-Ramahobo (1998, p.55).



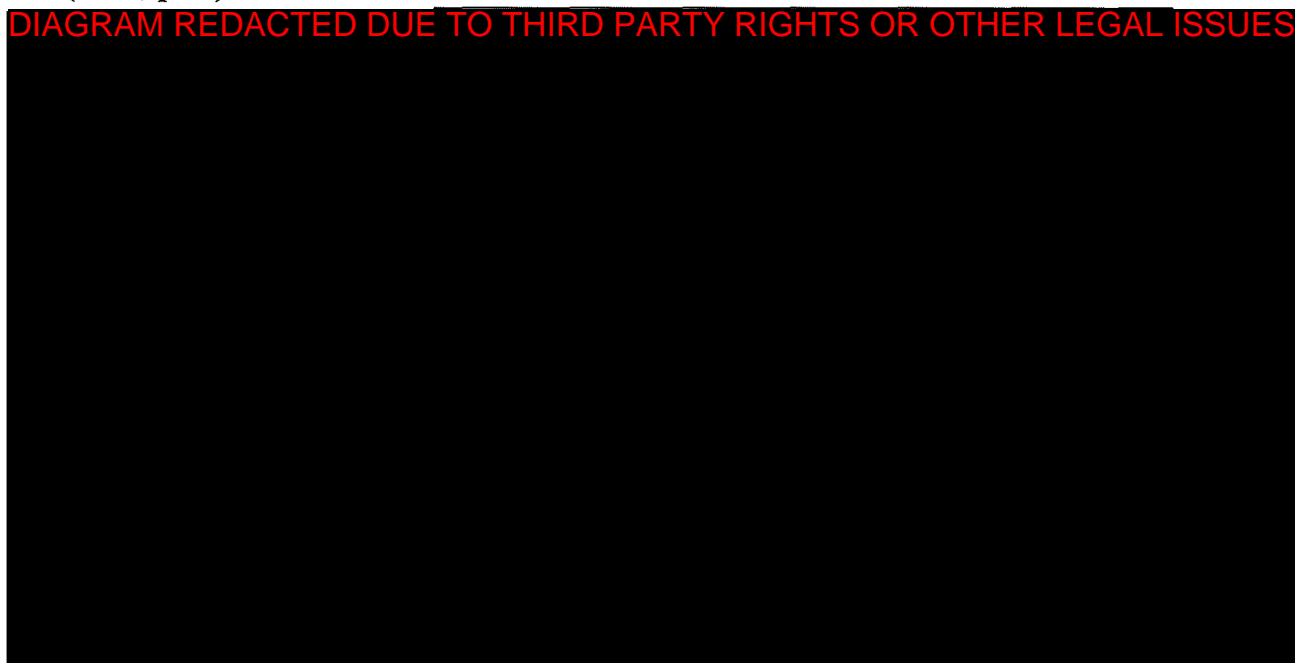
This working model shows that there are three types of language planning, namely status planning which focuses on the functions of language in society, corpus planning which addresses the problems of language structure and acquisition planning which is concerned with language learning. Under the theoretical approach, we find abstract goals, and under the practical approach those goals are put into practice. The abstract goal of status planning is to give official and/or national status to a language variety. On the other hand, the practical goal is to translate theory into practical reality when the language in question gets adopted as a means of communication nationally or internationally. In theory, corpus planning aims at modernising, reforming or purifying the language in question. In practice, this means reducing the languages into written form, and developing and standardising its structure and lexicon.

As for acquisition planning, in theory the goal is to spread the language as widely as possible within the defined geographical area, or even beyond, and to maintain it for future generations. On the other hand, the practical goals entail the development of human and material resources. The latter in the form of production of books and other learning materials, and the former in the form of teachers, language education curriculum specialists, literacy specialists, and other relevant personnel such as

journalists, writers, and so on who might contribute, in the implementation phase, to the spread of the official or national language(s).

Although this model already says much about some important concepts of language planning, it does not represent a comprehensive process which should reveal the different parts involved. Nyati-Ramahobo shows these in the second and more expanded model (see Figure 5 below). The language policy and planning components in the second model include planning, fact-finding, implementation and evaluation. A section representing language planning environment or context of planning is linked to the four processes. All the five parts of the language planning model are inter-linked by a network of overlapping and interrelated processes.

Figure 5: A Model of Language Planning Process. Source: Nyati-Ramahobo (1998; p.57)



This model represents the language planning process and it includes the initial one described earlier, mainly in the planning stages where the policy is described, goals set and strategies laid out for action. The importance of all the component parts of the model, including the environmental factors, and evaluation, is recognised. These are all linked to one another as indicated with arrows demonstrating language planning feedback loops that are often seen in planning models in the literature. Taken together, the two models provide us with sufficient conceptual materials and frameworks for

understanding the concepts we need for the analysis and description of the issues arising out of the educational language policy study on Sudan.

Although they can provide sufficient guidance for language policy and planning analyses, the above models share one thing in common, they have not clearly accounted for critical approach to social issues involved in language policy and planning. The assumptions that help question the role of hegemonic social and political institutions have not been explicitly explained. Given the critical importance of ideology and power relations in language policy planning studies, it is necessary that critical outlook to social issues in language policy and planning such as those attributed to Tollefson earlier are worth considering the discussion of language policy and planning in this study.

Depending on who applies them and for what purposes, and indeed due to apparent lack of awareness of the relationships among ideologies, power and language policy and planning in many post-colonial and post-independence societies (Tollefson, 1995), these concepts are turned into structures of exploitation in most post-independence developing countries. So far, the discussion of concepts related to language policy and planning in this study includes the frameworks and models discussed in the foregoing section of Chapter 5. These represent only a part of the conceptual frameworks that can lend sufficient support to the analyses and discussions on language policy and planning in this study. Due to its multidisciplinary nature, language policy and planning research such as this one can be viewed from several critical angles. Ideological structures such as linguisticism and linguistic imperialism discussed below, in addition, above all, to the ideological basis that is the driving force behind these historical-structural practices provide good analytical contexts and critical insights for more informed analysis and discussion of educational language policy and planning issues such as inequality and exclusion through language as this study shows. Below I now describe these theoretically enriching critical language policy perspectives and models.

5.6. Conceptualising Language Policy and Planning from Critical Language Policy (CLP) Perspectives

As Tollefson (1991:16) puts it, the definitions reviewed above can be regarded as “traditional” or conventional and insufficiently critical in their conception of language policy and planning. According to Tollefson (also Pennycook, 2006; and Canagaraja, 1999) a critical language policy perspective, based on the questioning approach to research which is the mainstay of postmodernism and post-structuralism, is needed to tackle the language and education issues especially in post-colonial situations. Tollefson describes critical theory as a research area which

“generally investigates the process by which social inequality is produced and sustained, and the struggle to reduce inequality to bring about greater forms of social justice” (Tollefson, 2006:44). In this sense, critical theory is a research tool intended to “uncover systems of exploitation, particularly those hidden by ideology, and to find ways to overcome that exploitation” (ibid).

Critical theory has influenced language policy research in several important ways. First, it has produced critical language policy (CLP) as a specific research area, and which assumes that structural categories such as class, race and gender are central explanatory factors or categories in language policy and planning analysis. Second, CLP assumes that critical views on research methodology are regarded “inseparable from ethical standards and political commitment to social justice” (ibid). The concept of critical language policy is traced to the developments in the recent literature on language policy in the ever complex human society.

Traditionally, critical language policy research (e.g, Tollefson (1991), emphasises the neo-Maxist perspective which takes language policies as one arena in which different classes in society are “engaged in a struggle over fundamentally antagonistic interests” (Tollefson 2006:44). Currently, CLP research is concerned about language policies in educational systems deemed racist, and addresses the impact of standard language ideology on the attitudes towards speakers of vernaculars and other stigmatised languages. These examples make sense and provide an outlook of language policy as a means by which dominant groups establish hegemony in language use as well as

“for locating language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources” (Tollefson, 1991:16).

As Tollefson points out, it is not difficult to see how this conception of language policy

“implies hierarchical social systems which are associated with exploitative language policies, that is, policies which give advantage to groups speaking particular language varieties” (ibid, p. 17).

Such language policies are associated with educational systems that use political power and ideology to impose educational language policies designed by speakers of dominant language groups on minority groups.

Postmodernism (Pennycook, 2006), and other similar movements, for example, post-structuralism, post-colonialism, neo-Maxism and feminism, have shaped CLP and other related perspectives in the area of language and education such as critical pedagogy (CP) (Canagarajah, 1999). Postmodernism, like the other perspectives named here, is founded on “a philosophical questioning of many of the foundational concepts of received canons of knowledge” (Pennycook, 2006:62). In other words postmodernism is opposed to receive grand ideas, and overarching concepts or grand narratives. It is premised on scepticism and questioning of concepts and modes of thoughts, as well as problematizing the given or existing epistemologies (see Pennycook, ibid, pp. 62&63). Similarly, in his background explanation to “resistance linguistics”, Canagarajah (op.cit) observes that “Post-structuralist perspectives challenge the deterministic aspects of the structuralist legacy, opening avenues for the development of resistance linguistics” (Canagarajah, 1999:29). These views of postmodernism and post-structuralism raise a number of important concerns in relation to language policy and planning. For example, from the perspective of postmodernism we can see how power operates in relation to the state or nation-state and how inequality in government and the areas of governance which are concerned with public welfare is achieved through unjust language policy. We can also be able to question or critically view the grand narratives such as language rights in education discussed in Chapter 2 based on Skutnabb-Kangas’ (1988) ideas, and linguistic imperialism paradigm (e.g Phillipson, 1988; 1992) in the current literature on language policy and planning. According to this description, a post-modern perspective can enable us deconstruct overarching concepts, grant ideas or receive

canons which tend to narrow or inhibit our understanding of language policies, and place them into local, situated contexts.

5.6.1. Explanation of Critical Ideological Basis and Relevant Concepts

As an ideological basis of critical language policy and planning I find Blommaert's (1996) treatment of language planning

“as a discourse on language and society containing ideological assumptions of various kinds and evolving in a particular socio-historical and political contexts” (Blommaert, 1996:200)

appropriate as a basis for explaining the CLP concepts in this section. The notion of “contingency” (ibid) or understanding of language planning in terms of specific historical context or language situations we show in the review of language policy and planning definitions earlier is also helpful in the discussion here. The explanation of key concepts and terms below is based on the understanding that language policy and planning, in the context of developing post-colonial countries such as Sudan, is contingent on a certain ideological basis.

Following Tollefson (2006; 1991), Pennycook (2006), Skutnabb-Kangas (2000; 1988), Phillipson (1992; 1988), among others, I will discuss four examples of critical language policy concepts below to situate the analysis and discussion of language policy and planning in Sudan after independence. It is worth noting, however, that these major conceptual structures subsume ideas such as power, hegemony, ideology and resistance, all of which are inherently related to each other as well as to critical language policy and therefore essential for understanding language behaviour and language-related problems in the discussion and explanation of the Sudanese situation. Not only that but as we can see in the following explanations how these notions can generate critical language policy perspectives that allow for detecting more subtle or ideologically laden colonial, post-colonial and neo-colonial structures and related practices.

Power refers to “the ability to control events in order to achieve one’s aims” (Tollefson, 2006:46). It is implicit in language policy-making process which turns

language policies into important mechanisms by which the state and other language policy-making institutions like schools seek to influence language behaviour. In relation to power, hegemonic practices such as monopoly of language knowledge and/or competence which certain language policies accord to the dominant groups (e.g. poor quality English medium education in African schools in the former Apartheid South Africa) ensure that power remains in the hands of the few. Meanwhile ideology—which refers to unconscious beliefs and assumptions about a phenomenon—contributes to the perpetuation of hegemony and continue to influence language-policy making in society. Owing to the prevalence of post-structuralist thinking, the notion of resistance has gained currency in language policy research. Resistance is concerned with finding ways which may undermine established dominant social systems through questioning the basic logic of domination and offering alternative social systems (see Tollefson, 2006, p 48). In the context of language policy resistance perspective seeks ways that ensure dominant language does not or should not encroach into the identities of minority groups, communities or even identities of individual learners at the micro-level of policy practice in the classroom. Strategies include countering the impact of standard-English among African Americans for example (Tollefson, *ibid*) by using local English Vernacular.

This later area of language policy influence suggests the work of Canagarajah (1999) on critical pedagogy (CP) which, although focussed on English Language Teaching (ELT) and therefore looking at micro-pedagogical issues, its critical approach appear to complement our understanding of critical language policy. For example, Canagarajah (*ibid*) explains how cultural and linguistic reproduction models which mediate the reproductive functions of culture and language in society succeed in achieving hegemonic practices and pervasive ideologies, but as mentioned in the quote above Canagarajah explains how post-structuralist perspectives challenge these ideologies in the context of resistance linguistics. One explanation that seems to set the scene for resistance concerns the role of the school which

“shapes the consciousness and behaviour of students by distributing the cultural practice of dominant groups as the norm” and by ensuring that “students who acquired this linguistic and cultural capital would grow to justify and serve the interests of the dominant groups” (Canagarajah, 1999:28).

This point is explained thus: due to the perceived neutrality of the school the subordinate groups would internalise the school culture unquestioningly and would thus participate in their own domination.

The missing critical point here, according to Canagarajah, is the possibility of how the school “may function as an oppositional site to help change social institutions” (ibid). A similar explanation is given for language from structuralism and pos-structuralism perspectives. Current literature, especially in the post-colonial multilingual contexts, suggests creation and sustenance of alternative social systems, along side those established by means of dominant languages in which local languages have roles and adoption of “alternative language policies lead to greater social justice” (Tollefson, 2006:52). With these explanations of ideological basis for language policy and planning we can now see how critical language policy perspectives explain language policy and planning.

5.6.2. Critical Language Policy Concepts

5.6.2.1. Historical-structural Approach to Language Planning

Historical-structural approach to language policy and planning is such concept.

The ideological orientation of the historical-structural approach is critical social theory. Giddens (1984), for example, explains critical social theory in terms of three central concerns, namely the nature of human action, how interaction should be conceptualised, and the need to grasp or understand the practical meanings of social analysis. In short, the focus of critical social theory is on understanding the interaction between human agency and social institutions in terms of time and space, and in relation to social systems. As Giddens puts it:

“The structuration of institutions can be understood in terms of how it comes about that social activities become ‘stretched’ across wide spans of time-space” (Giddens, 1984:xxi).

Historical-structural approach as it is applied to language policy and planning research emerged in the 1960s (Tollefson, 1991) as a counter-tendency in language policy studies to the neoclassical model that until then had dominated social research. The Neoclassical approach is based on the assumptions,

“that the key to understanding social systems is the individual; that differences between socio-political systems is the result of the cumulative effect of individual decisions; that individual decisions are predictable; and that proper focus of social research is analysis of individual decisions” (Tollefson, 1991:28).

In this sense, the neoclassical approach to language policy research appears to address societal language problems out of their time and space context or with focus on the individual in the present moment.

On the other hand, the alternative historical-structural approach

“rejects the neoclassical assumption that the rational calculus of individuals is the proper focus of research, and instead seeks the origins of constraints on planning, the sources of the costs and benefits of individual choices, and the social, political, and economic factors which control or impel changes in language structure and language use” (Tollefson, 1991:31).

On the other hand, as Tollefson observes this approach assumes that

“the primary goal of research is to discover the historical and structural pressures that lead to particular policies and plans and that constrain individual choice” (Tollefson, 1991:32).

Tollefson (ibid) suggests close examination of the composition of language planning bodies, as these are likely to be working to advance the economic and socio-political interests of the dominant group in society. This explanation leads to the view that language policy is one of the means through which the interests of dominant socio-political groups are maintained and the seeds of transformation are cultivated. This assumption presents language policy research with the task of finding out the historical basis of policies and to explain clearly how the structures serve or undermine specific political and economic interests in society. This approach considers language-planning institutions as part of political economy and puts them at par with other class-based structures. Moreover, the historical-structural approach, unlike the neoclassical model, rejects the separation between the researcher and the language-planning process, for the simple reason that both the person and the process are part of the historical and socio-political transformation.

5.6.2.2. Colonization and Governmentality

Similar to the historical-structural approach to language policy and planning therefore, the concept of colonization refers primarily to processes or activities of non-physical but hegemonic structures and institutions that result from the encroachment of market mechanisms and bureaucratic controls of capitalist societies on the lives, cultures and traditions of local people. Consequences of colonization include loss of culture, identity and socialization, all of which have enormous effects on the integrity of the colonized people. A more practical result of colonization is the impact of the policies and practices of dominant institutions of the state, “especially schools,” on minority ethnolinguistic groups (Tollefson, 2006:46). Echoing Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) and Phillipson (1988) in a way, Tollefson asks why from critical language policy perspective, colonial and neo-colonial language policies, for example those promoting the spread of English are not necessarily for the “well-being” of the people for whom those policies are designed. The critical point is that, such policies are

“a mechanism for the destruction of cultural identity and imposition of economic order that demands workers and consumers without ties to traditional institutions that might serve as counter-balance to the state and the capitalist economy” (Tollefson, 2006:47).

This point is explained by a situation in Solomon Islands, which seems to illustrate similar situations throughout the developing countries.

Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo (1995), citing Wasuka (1989) describe the situation in Solomon Islands where schooling in the medium of a former colonial language has not brought to the people the socio-economic benefits they expected.

“Schooling is often talked about as being the key to well being and prosperity. It is an irony of modern Solomon Islands history that it has instead become for many people an occasion of failure and disappointment, a sign of their exclusion from the development to which they aspire (Watson-Gegeo and Gegeo, 1995:59).

This example of expectations gap or lack of fulfilment of dreams that should have accrued to societies in post-colonial situations from education is replicable in most post-colonial countries.

From CLP point of view, the concept of governmentality refers to the use of language policy to achieve governance (Pennycook, 2006, p. 64). Like colonization, the concept of governmentality is concerned about less structural but subtle “social processes involved in the formation of culture and knowledge” (Tollefson, 2006: 50), such as what goes on in the bureaucracy in the forms of discourses, language use and educational practices (ibid). The outcomes of language policy activities associated with governmentality appear to be similar to those associated with colonization in as far as language policies conceived under colonization, when examined critically, do more than they are purported to do. For example, Tollefson, (2006) cites Pennycook (2002a) who argues that, from colonial (and post-colonial/neo-colonial) point of view, a policy of medium of instruction in a country or region of a country is not merely aimed at selecting a medium of education. More than that, it is usually

“part of a broad cultural policy aimed at creating a ‘docile’ population that would be politically passive and willing to cooperate in its own exploitation” (Tollefson, 2006:50).

Following Tollefson’s suggestion governmentality perspective on language policy discussion may be extended from its colonial context to contemporary governance approaches. In Tollefson’s view, governmentality is a useful tool for analysing policies of liberal democracies in which pluralist policies appear to promote language rights, and less democratic or dictatorial models of governance where language policies designed by dominant ruling groups are a part of strategies of direct subjugation of minorities or powerless majority populations. It is appropriate, therefore, to examine language policies and practices under these systems from governmentality perspective. Lesch (1998) utilises the control and ethnic pluralist models which critically looks at state governance in her study of the current socio-political situation in Sudan.

From the perspective of postmodernism, the conception of governmentality is concerned with how language policy and planning should show language use at local level in the administration of law, provision of education and various regulations in a country or state. According to Pennycook (2006:64), the notion of “language governmentality” refers to micro-level rather than macro-level state regulations on language practices including

“how decisions about languages and language forms across a diverse range of institutions (law, education, printing) and through diverse range of instruments (books, regulations, exams) regulate language use, thought and action of different people, groups, and organizations” (Pennycook, 2006:65).

As a critical postmodernist perspective, governmentality contributes in four significant ways to CLP and its intention to find ways and means of solving language-related problems. 1) It helps us view governance as decentralised rather than a centralised operation. In so doing it focuses our attention on various ways in which practices of governance may be achieved. 2) It draws our attention to the more complex ways in which power operates at the local level in relation to central government which often imposes its will on the people. 3) It moves us away from looking at the overarching ideologies, approaches and policies, to “the discourses, educational practices and language use” at local level instead (ibid). 4) It helps us understand that the decentralization of governance or devolution of power and authority to regions and further to local areas may be accompanied by more forms of governmentality due to escalating modes of monitoring governance at local level (see Pennycook, ibid). To paraphrase Pennycook (ibid), this summary of the main points on governmentality and how it relates to language policy contributes to the realisation that it is not so much good policy goals that matter as that governmentality allows us to ask critical questions that seek to find out governmental effects of such policies.

5.6.2.3. The Dependency Perspective

As a critical post-colonial concept, the dependency perspective is relevant to this discussion mainly in as far as it clarifies power relations between centre and periphery. Although these notions belong to the realm of economic research, current literature, for example Mbaabu (1996) show strong link of the concept to language and cultural policy issues, especially in the context of post-colonial countries in Africa. Following Mbaabu (ibid), the concept of dependency is a result of failed economic project aimed at rescuing The World countries after the Second World War. That attempt failed dismally due to the fact that there was already an unequal relationship between the centre (former colonial powers), and by extension associated with central governments, power elites or dominant groups who played neo-colonial roles, and the periphery (the new independent states). In the contemporary approach to public policy issues or discourse which addresses the need for power devolution,

this now also symbolises regions of a country and the marginalised minorities. Although it is the cultural aspects of dependency that are directly related to this study, the practices of dependency that show wider consequences of the creation of centre and periphery are relevant. For example, it is the characteristics of the centre to decide, and expects the region to comply with its decisions, whether those decisions are on structural economic, technological or cultural goods and services. This exploitative relationship is no where more pronounced than in Africa which, after many years of political independence has not managed to achieve economic and technological independence.

Current African language policy and planning discourse (e.g. Okombo, 2001 and Mbaabu, 1996), and general literature on language education (Mazrui, 1980 and Ngugi, 1986), link this continued exploitation of the continent primarily to cultural dependency. Mazrui (*ibid*) describes the cultural aspects of dependency as non-structural, affecting mainly values, tastes, skills and ideas. In this sense, these aspects of dependency are concerned with more subtle ways of perpetuating the status quo. According to Ngugi, although the primary aims of European colonisation of Africa were economic and political, the colonialists sought to simultaneously control the minds of its subjects using the imported colonial languages instead of the indigenous African ones. Ngugi explains this simply and clearly that as part of colonial strategy, economic and political control would be incomplete without mental control. The implications of this strategy are enormous, since “to control a people’s culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others” (p.16). Based on arguments such as these ones, there is no question in concluding that Africa’s dependence on Western industrialised countries, especially its former colonial rulers, which represent the centre, is not only economic but also cultural (Mbaabu, 1996; p. iii). It is not difficult to see the role of education system as the main vehicle of cultural dependency as it is usually designed along colonial lines. Cultural dependency is also depicted in the print and mass electronic media, and is nurtured and perpetuated through the languages of the former colonial powers. In some post-independence contexts such as in the case of Sudan which experiences a centre-periphery problem, a neo-colonial situation arises where a language policy promotes the language of the dominant power elite, and through that policy cultural dependency is reproduced and promoted. Language policy and planning accesses of centralised exploitative

governance can also be explained in terms of linguisticism and linguistic imperialism which I now turn to below.

5.6.2.4. Linguicism and Linguistic Imperialism

Linguicism connotes deliberate ideologically motivated practices directed towards minority language groups by the powerful or dominant group in a state, intended to bring about the demise of those languages. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) draws parallels between linguisticism and racism, ethnicism, sexism, and similar structures and ideologies which serve to maintain social inequality. Based on this critical understanding, linguisticism refers to an ideology and structure which is

“used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language (particularly mother tongue)” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988:13; 2000:369; Phillipson, 1988: 339; my emphasis).

This definition shows clearly how ideologies and structures are used to legitimate inequality in the division and sharing of power and resources between national groups which are defined in terms of language. Here linguisticism, as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Phillipson (1988) explain below, implies policies and hegemonic practices amounting to suppression if not outright extermination of minority languages by powerful group or the state due to the underdeveloped status of those languages, and hegemony over their speakers.

Linguicism and linguistic imperialism are closely related concepts (see Phillipson, 1988; 1992). According to Phillipson, linguistic imperialism is the basis of inequality based on language, and of the ideology which legitimates the dominance of one language over others. Phillipson regards linguistic imperialism as an essential constituent of imperialism,

“a global phenomenon involving structural relations between rich and poor countries in a world characterised by inequality and injustice” (Phillipson, 1988:339).

Apart from the missionary role that the colonialists ascribed to themselves, and through which they dominated local communities, linguistic imperialism can take the form of religion, for example, Catholicism is associated with Spanish spread in the

Americas, and Islam with Arabic (ibid, p. 340). As a political construct, linguistic imperialism, and the social and linguistic inequality which it perpetuates, provides the context in which linguisticism thrives. Phillipson (1988, p.341), observes that linguisticism, like linguistic imperialism, can also take various forms of which these four are good examples.

1. Linguicism operates overtly when authorities at the level of ministry of education or school prohibit use of a language or languages.

2. In a covert form of linguisticist behaviour no declaration is made prohibiting use of certain languages although de facto those languages are not used in strategic aspects of education such as curriculum development and teacher training.

3. Conscious use of linguisticist ideology whereby pupils are made to believe that use of a foreign rather than indigenous languages facilitates learning of or has advantages. The corollary of this argument is that learning in and of an indigenous language does not help the learning of the designated foreign language.

4. Unconscious use of linguisticist ideology whereby pupils are made to believe that, in spite of prevailing language situation or the sociolinguistic and cultural context, a foreign language is the ideal language for education.

The above discussion shows the extent to which linguisticist ideology is similar to racism and other divisive social structures, given the manner in which it operates. As Phillipson, reiterates, linguisticist ideology

“essentially involves the dominant group/language presenting an idealised image of itself, stigmatizing the dominated group/language, and rationalizing the relationship between the two, always to the advantage of the dominant group/language” (Phillipson, 1988:341).

Such a situation, if it goes unchecked, promotes linguistic genocide or linguicide, which is obviously a product of linguisticism and linguistic imperialism. Other outcomes could take social, economic and political forms. From the point of view of conflict paradigm, Skutnabb-Kangas claims that the agents of linguicide and linguisticism can be structural and ideological. The structural aspect can be exemplified by a state, its institutions such as schools, laws and regulations covering the position of languages in the education system, and allocation teacher training budgets. On the other hand, the ideological perspective is concerned with the ascription of norms, values and status to languages and their speakers (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p, 370).

The above explanation of the concept of linguisticism implies that when national and educational resources are based on linguistic policies, the result is perpetuation of inequality in power and resources among groups in a multilingual society. The corollary to this explanation is that minority languages and their speakers in multilingual societies should be protected through granting of language rights, in order for them to benefit from national resources which should be equitably distributed. The extent to which these historical, structural, and institutional frameworks have been in operation in the Sudanese language situation may be discerned from a discussion of the colonial and post-colonial language policies to which I now turn from critical perspectives.

5.7. Conclusion

In the forgoing sections of Chapter 5 I discussed various definitions of language policy and planning in detail. I also explained several relevant theoretical frameworks in their social contexts. Because of its relevance to the African situation conditions which determine language behaviour or language use, the concepts also determine policy or planning prioritising. It is therefore apparent that in the context of this post-colonial and post-independence educational language policy and planning study that language policy and planning should be defined in terms of situation specific conditions rather than in abstract. This view is sympathetic with and echoes the post-colonial situation in Africa which calls primarily for status planning which is needed in order to effect acquisition planning. In other words, in the specific language situations in post-independent African countries language policy must be put in place prior to implementing it in schools, among other domains of language use. Bamgbose shows the importance of this aspect in his contribution to the definitions. Although Cooper (ibid) concludes that there is no single universally accepted definition of language planning, he has contributed one of the most currently used working definitions of language policy and planning. As explained earlier, the strength of Cooper's (1989) definition lies in the fact that it is more critical and more comprehensive than the other twelve he reviewed. Its usefulness as a guide in this study lies in the fact that it explains the language planning in terms of its essential parts: status, corpus and acquisition planning. Cooper's conception of language

planning claims much part in the language planning framework adapted as a working model for African conditions and for this study as well.

To have a critical view of language policy and planning goals and activities in the ever dynamic and complex social world, I considered supplementing the apparently universally accepted conceptual frameworks and models of language policy and planning with critical language policy perspectives or approaches emanating from critical social research. These are particularly useful in discussing language policy from colonial, post-colonial, and post-independence and neo-colonial situations in which this study on educational language policy and planning in Sudan is considered. An example of failure of language policies to deliver or to fulfil the educational expectations and dreams of people in rural and often marginalised communities across post-colonial countries, which are reported above in relation to language in education in the Solomon Islands is worth reflecting on. The role of ideology in language planning as Tollefson (1991) and Blommaert (1996), for example, explain is critical. These scholars links the ongoing practices of language planning, especially the uncritical types, to an old tradition which, according to him is based on ideological assumptions in particular socio-historical and political contexts.

The description of the situation in the Islands and the paying attention to ideologically conditioned assumptions underlying language policy and planning inform the language planning situation in Sudan in general and Southern Sudan in particular, in the context of this study. Language policy and planning in Sudan is influenced by power relations between the South and central government based in the North under the control of the Arabic-speaking power elite. There is a feeling among African language policy and language education scholars (this author included) that this realisation now calls for an urgent need to redress the post-independence situation, albeit at the later stages.

Chapter 6

Post-Independence Language Policies in Sudan from Status Language Planning Perspective

6.1. Introduction

From the perspective of status planning, Chapter 6 is an attempt at examining the aims of the post-independence language policy of Sudan's central government, what goals it was intended to achieve and what factors influenced or helped in legitimizing and institutionalising that policy, especially in the Southern Sudan. The central government language policy legitimizing and institutionalising is therefore discussed from the perspectives of status planning (e.g. Cooper, 1989) while taking into account views of participants in the study, verifying them with essential information from current sociolinguistic literature, especially that pertaining to the role of language in hegemonic and ideological behaviours. These are important elements in language policy discussion. They provide supporting material in the argument for a role and status of indigenous Sudanese languages in the face of Arabicisation. The extent of the effects of the Arabicisation policy on the status of the indigenous Sudanese languages and the role of Southern resistance to the development of the policy are also explored.

Chapter 6 discusses language policy and planning, in the light of status language planning discussed in Chapter 5 (e.g. Haugen, 1987; and Nyati-Ramahobo, 1998), and of various sociolinguistic or language situation dimensions discussed preceding background chapters. Among other pertinent concepts, linguistic diversity and multilingualism which define the Sudanese language situation, the concept of nation-state, definitions of mother tongue and diglossia, for example are discussed in Chapter 2, and linguisticism and linguistic imperialism in Chapter 5. In the context of this study, status planning is one strategy employed by successive post-independence Sudan's central governments (based on Arabic) and the former Southern Regional government (based on English, Arabic and indigenous languages) to find solutions to the country's educational problems as well as to language-related problems in the society.

The discussion begins with explanation of rationale and factors which contributed to the declaration and adoption of the Arabicisation policy after independence, and

language policy legitimizing by the successive post-independence regimes is examined. The 1975 language policy of former autonomous Southern Sudan Government, which may be regarded as a direct outcome of resistance to central government's Arabicisation policy is also discussed. This policy is examined in relation to the role accorded the indigenous languages in the policy. Thereafter, the educational language policy of the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement is considered in the light of and as an outcome of a continued Southern resistance in response to Khartoum policies, including the Arabicisation language policy. The discussion of the SPLM language policy reveals that the extension of the liberation movement to Northern Sudan, starting with the areas of the marginalised indigenous language groups such as the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile areas in the Northern Sudan has increased resistance to the Arabicisation policy, and has resulted in undesirable effects for Khartoum in respect of the SPLM language policy ramifications. In the light of these developments occurring 50 years after Sudan's independence, the SPLM language policy is discussed with the view to establishing sources of alternative educational language policy for Sudan as a whole and for Southern Sudan and the other regions of the country in particular. A policy that is both national and sufficiently comprehensive as to consider the diverse linguistic and sociocultural interests of the Sudanese people.

Before the discussion of educational language policies in Sudan in the context of post-colonial perspectives, a brief description of rationale and factors is given below in an attempt to place the post-independence language policy in Sudan into sociolinguistic context, as a prelude to the discussion of the language policies of the central and regional governments in Sudan, to show whether there are avenues for language status considerations and allocating roles to languages as demanded by the current language situation in the country.

6.2. Rationale for the Post-Independence Language Policies

As discussed in Chapter 5 language policy and planning, especially status planning, usually involves a great deal of politically motivated action by governments or government authorised agencies. Chapter 5 also shows that status planning illustrates the language planning action requiring political decision-making by government in respect of a particular language situation. It is the most common language planning

approach in developing post-colonial countries. Commenting on the reasons why this top-down approach to language policy and planning is ubiquitous, Bamgbose (2000) suggests that it is due to the fact that governments in the developing countries deal with almost all major issues involved in the running of countries. Second, language policy and planning is a process that involves official action usually aimed at the nationalisation of languages (Nyati-Ramahobo, 1998: 78), as well as legitimizing and institutionalising language policies (May, 2001). Such activities cannot be handled easily by non-governmental organisations. The problem is errors usually occurred mainly due to greed for power by elites in multilingual countries who at this crucial stage of status language planning have tended to forget the rights of the so-called minority languages and the speakers of those languages. This has been the case in most developing countries in African where “the whole process of language planning and development is adversely affected” (Muthwii, 2002). Post-independence Sudan is a good case in point whereby a deliberate language policy favouring Arabic, the language of one national group in a multilingual or multinational society, has been carried out.

The notion of ‘nation building’ which is associated with considerations of social policy and plans in the newly independent nations seems also to justify governments’ primary role in language policy decision making. In the context of post-colonial states, Mansour (1993:131) explains nation building as encompassing the creation of a new society different from the existing one. This idea seems to prompt many post-independence governments to take deliberate social policy actions one of which involves language planning. Stewart (1972:532) refers to those initiatives as “remedial programmes” designed by those governments and aimed at finding solutions to the language and language-related problems in their societies. Sudan was not an exception given that it inherited a similar situation after independence. It is worth recapping on the point attributed to Stewart (1972) that a sizable number of the problems including educational, social and technical, which face the newly independent and developing multilingual nations are in many ways related directly to language. As Stewart (ibid) puts it in the discussion of multilingualism and the building of the newly independent countries, there may therefore be a causal relationship between language and social problems in the context of developing multilingual countries. This relationship, as will be pointed out below, can be

explained in terms of factors such as multilingualism, widespread illiteracy, lack of standardised national languages, lack of technical vocabulary in the local languages, and so forth.

Given the multilingual language situation in Sudan as described in Chapter 4, and since advocates of monolingualism regard linguistic diversity as a problem, it can be said that it was inevitable that the Khartoum ruling elite opted for the monolingual Arabicisation approach to independence language policy as a solution to the perceived language in education and other language-related problems in society. According to Stewart (*ibid*), the monolingual policy is one of two “fundamentally different policies” (Stewart, 1972:532) which is taken as possible alternative remedy to the so-called problems of multilingualism. Since it was intended to bring about the eventual elimination of all the Sudanese national languages except Arabic which is to remain as the national official language, the monolingual paradigm was the preferred choice in the context of Arab nationalist ideology which was the driving force behind the motives of the ruling independence elite in Northern Sudan. Given this ideological stance, a multilingual approach to language policy and social development of the country as an alternative was therefore out of the question. In theory, a multilingual policy recognises ethnic diversity and preserves all languages within the national territory. But usually for practical socio-economic purposes including educational, administrative, and communicational, as in the case of Namibia discussed in Chapter 2, the policy allows for the adoption and promotion of some languages to serve official roles. Here, as (Ouane, 2003) suggests language choice should not be taken as implying rejection of the other languages. However, in the context of language situation in Sudan the monolingual Arabicisation policy did not allow for choices to be made for the following reasons.

First, the monolingual post-independence Arabicisation policy in Sudan bears the hallmarks of a deliberate but also arbitrary policy which is usually promoted by ruling post-independence elite in developing countries (see Bamgbose, 2000, p 97; and p103). Second, as I posited above, the policy was intended to put Sudan on totally new political and cultural orientation to fulfil the ideology of Arabism which the independence Arabised Northern elite was promoting. To highlight the reasons behind the missed opportunity to formulate an inclusive language policy, I explain below the

fundamental Sudanese national goals designed at the pre-independence period by these elite, for implementation in the post-independence period.

6.3. Factors which Influenced the Central Government Language Policy

Following Bamgbose (2000) certain factors and characteristic features tend to influence language policy and planning in multilingual situations for example in Africa. These include multilingualism, high incidence of illiteracy, and the role of education in relation to social change. Equally influential in determining the post-colonial language situation are the need for language of communication, national unity, national integration and development (see Bamgbose, 2000:99). Bamgbose also points out the features that characterise language policy and planning in the context of post-independence countries in Africa such as: arbitrariness in decision making, vagueness in policy formulation, preoccupation with policy formulation rather than planning and implementation, and elite domination of policy-making. As we will find out below, these factors and features are similar to those regulating the language policies of the successive post-independence regimes in Sudan.

In the specific Sudanese context, the possible motives and factors which influenced the central government's language policy are explained below.

Linguistic diversity or multilingualism is a major factor or reason which influenced the post-colonial elite to opt for Arabicisation policy in Sudan. In terms of status and level of development, Arabic was seen by the ruling independence elite as the unchallenged candidate for a national official language of Sudan. But there were also socio-political and educational goals behind the adoption of the monolingual Arabicisation policy. The socio-political goals include:

- Achievement of Sudanese national unity
- National integration
- Socio-economic development.

The specific educational goals include:

- Unification of the existing Northern and Southern educational systems,
- Nationalisation of education

- Expansion and improvement of educational standards (See Sudan Government Documents, SG, 1951-1956 Five Year Plan; SG, 1959; and SG, Report of the International Commission, 1955).

These concerns are normally expected of any national government in the wake of the independence era in Africa. In the case of Sudan, however, the situation is not as straightforward as, for example, the pre-independence plans by the International Commission on Secondary Education in the Sudan and the various post-independence regimes in Khartoum which adopted their recommendations might have thought. Below I explain how the ruling elite at the time of independence went about the initiation and institutionalisation of the post-independence educational language policy in Sudan. Among other strategies, they employed the services of international educational experts to not only to guide and advice them, but also to give legitimacy to the subsequent educational language policy (Report of The International Commission, 1955). It is worth noting that the language policies of the successive post-independence Khartoum regimes were aimed at achieving the above goals. On closer examination, and in the context of the North-South relations in Sudan, it is apparent that linguistic and cultural hegemony by the Arabic-speaking ruling elite in Khartoum dovetailed with their interest in achieving national and educational goals regardless of wider and diverse interests of the Sudanese people.

Throughout the post-independence era, successive Sudanese governments sought to promote the ideology of Arabisation and Islamisation in the entire country. Southern Sudan was the focus of that agenda, mainly because of its pre-independence language history which, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 3 resulted in a period of separate socio-cultural development and building of indigenous linguistic and other sociocultural structures and socio-political identities. It is therefore right to say that successive post-independence Sudanese regimes, both military and civilian, were united in directing the policy of Arabisation which is aimed ultimately at Arabising the entire Sudanese society towards Southern Sudan in particular in order to reverse the colonial history. The monolingual policy was pursued through the education system in spite of the Sudan's linguistic diversity described in Chapter 3. Before I give an account of the language policy developments in the post-independence period in Sudan, I would like to provide an explanation of the nature of status language planning, as it may help us understand the concept in more depth.

6.4. The Nature of Status Language Planning

Sociolinguists, for example Cooper (1989), claim that languages and their status, roles and functions tend to change over time Cooper (1989). Available historical evidence of language status developments in West Europe, for example regarding the shift from Latin to French and from French to English were most likely due to changes in practical social value and status or role of those languages. In this discussion of post-independence language policy of Sudan's central governments, the monolingual Arabicisation policy and the planning that went towards its legitimizing is assumed to be dependent on the status of Arabic.

Cooper (1989, citing Stewart, 1972) discusses language functions in status language planning. He defines an official language function, one of the elements in status planning as

“a legally appropriate language for all politically and culturally representative purposes on a nationwide basis” (Cooper, 1989:100).

Cooper (ibid) distinguishes two more types of official language functions, in addition to the legally or constitutionally sanctioned function in specific language situations. The two functions relate to: a) an official language serving as a medium of day to day activities of the government, and b) to a language serving as a symbol of the state or a symbolic function. The distinction of the language functions explains the fact that by means of status planning a language may be official in any or all the three senses. Hebrew and Irish are good examples of languages that are official in the three senses, in that each of these languages is statutory, working and symbolic official language. While Hebrew combines all the three functions, Arabic is a statutory and an official working language, and English a working official language only. In the case of Irish, it replaced English as the first official language of the Republic of Ireland in 1937 when the country attained independence from Britain. As a result, Irish became the Republic's statutory and symbolic official language, while English became the second official language, although in practice it is the first working language of Ireland (see Cooper, 1989). In the multilingual African context, the new South African language policy means that all the 11 languages serve the statutory official function. However, it is English that assumes the position of first and Afrikaans second working

languages, while the rest of the indigenous African languages have symbolic functions with less status as languages for day to day official work in the country.

Cooper instructs that in post-colonial multilingual and in deed in all other contexts, “we must look to the symbolic uses of a statutory language rather than to its immediate practical value” (Cooper, 1989:101), because it is neither necessary to specify an official language (as in the case of Britain and US) nor to observe the declarations or decrees in regard to official languages (as in the case of many former French and British colonies in North Africa and south of the Sahara). The symbolic function makes sense because a statutory official language that has symbolic value “symbolises the common memory and aspirations of the community, it’s past and future” (ibid), or “the cultural values and traditional wisdom” of the people (Ndede, 2002:99). This distribution of language roles means that in the context of post-colonial Africa, a multilingual country may have an imported or foreign working language as an official working language and local languages serving mainly symbolic roles. Moreover, Okombo’s (2001:27) comment that in a multilingual nation “the allocation of functions to the various languages found in the sociolinguistic fabric of such a nation” indicates the central place for status language planning in multilingual countries.

If we examine the Sudan’s post-independence language policy in the light of the above discussion, we find that, in line with the situation of English in Britain and the US, for example, Arabic is supposed to assume all the three roles of a statutory official language, a working language and a symbol of Sudanese nationhood or national identity. Unlike the situations in the two Western countries, however, historical and structural factors which take the form of Southern resistance to the twin Arabization and Islamization policy has hindered this development. Although Arabic has been the statutory official and working language, as well as the symbol of nationhood in Northern Sudan and at the level of central government, in the South these roles have been assumed by English. In line with the focus of this thesis, there is however a possibility for a new or third position (at least in the six-year transitional period) to these two traditional ones based apparently on the North-South dichotomy. The CPA signed in 2005 between the ruling NCP and SPLM recognises all the indigenous Sudanese languages (including Arabic) as national languages, and Arabic

and English as official working languages at the national level. This policy declaration for the first time since independence addresses the reality of Sudan's multilingual language situation. The new political environment created as a result of the CPA means the new language policy must be followed with new dispensation of language functions. For one thing, the necessity for inter-group communication in the whole Sudan enhances the status and role of Arabic and English as statutory official and working languages in the whole country, and following the post-Apartheid South Africa example, the national languages assume the symbolic role.

6.5. Legitimizing Arabicisation: Language Policies of Successive Post-Colonial Sudanese Regimes

It was not surprising that the post-independence language policy in Sudan followed the recommendations of the International Commission when the transitional governments formulated the new nation's language policy. The Commission, by means of their recommendations, provided the power elite in the central government in the North with essential tools to manipulate language policy in their favour. For the purpose of this discussion I will comment on the language policy positions of three of the post-independence regimes that ruled Sudan for longer periods and who spelt out their language policies than the others which came and went. Although all the regimes endorsed the Arabicisation policy, I will comment on the Aboud regime (1958-1964) whose policies were really reiteration of the first independence government which it toppled just two years after assuming power. The Arabicisation policy, which as we recall was declared and adopted in 1949 by the first transitional administration, was top in the political programme of the regime, especially in relation to Southern Sudan. May regime will also be mentioned. However, the ruling National Congress Party's role is deserves closer examination because of its Islamic fundamentalist approach to education in Sudan.

6.5.1. Positions of the Post-Colonial Sudanese Regimes on Language Policy

As it was the first military government in Sudan after independence, the Aboud regime associated itself with educational and language policies laid down in the early independence period. The central Minister of Education in the Aboud regime (1958-

1964) clearly indicated this in an important education policy statement in 1959 when he acknowledged the work of the International Commission saying:

“we have sought the experience of other nations in the field of education, comparing their experience with our own” (Sudan Government, Ministry of Education, 1959: 28).

Building on earlier language policy initiatives was emphasised and so was the role of the education system, based on Arabicised curriculum, and aimed at uniting the country. The themes of national unity and unity of the education system, socio-economic development and educational expansion were re-stated in the minister’s speech.

In addition to stressing the introduction of Arabic in the Southern education system, which was the focus Arabicisation policy, and the training of Southern teachers of Arabic for Southern Sudan, the Minister emphasised the goal of one nation one language when he said that implementing Arabicisation policy in the South was to create a society of “one culture throughout the country, so that it may be unified in friendship and understanding” (Sudan Government, Ministry of Education, 1959: 8). The emphasis given to the Arabicisation policy in the context of education indicated the extent to which the policy was regarded as a strategic instrument not only to unite the country but also to achieve cultural assimilation of the Southern Sudanese society into the Arabic and Islamic culture.

The May regime (1969-1985) initially proclaimed and seemed to practise some version of socialist ideology for a while. This approach to Sudan’s political and sociocultural problems seemed to open up the hitherto closed gates of political participation to Southern Sudanese. Under an autonomous regional government established in 1972 within the Sudanese State, Southern Sudan joined the rest of the Sudanese people to embrace and defend the regime’s political programmes. This political overture seemed to resolve the negative policies of the preceding overtly pro-Arab and Islamic oriented post-Independence governments. Regarding its contribution to the development of educational language policy, the regime made a policy declaration on 9th June 1969 a few weeks after it assumed power recognising

“the historic and cultural differences between the North and South and firmly believes that the unity of our country must be built on these objective realities. The Southern people have the right to develop their respective cultures and traditions within a united socialist Sudan” (Lesch, 1998:46).

Although the policy declaration does not refer directly to the promotion of local languages and their use in the education system, this was inferred under cultural differences. As we will see later in the discussion of Southern Regional language policy, similar inference was made to allow for formulation of a regional language policy on the basis of the Addis Accord (1972) articles relating to language, culture and education.

The May regime’s language policy did not however fundamentally differ from the original Arabicisation policy as revealed in the statement of the Minister of Education in 1970. According to the minister, Arabic is the official language of Sudan and Islam its religion. The Minister asserted the position of the regime vis-à-vis the status of Arabic:

“The Arabic language, of course, should be the medium of instruction throughout the various stages of state education”, adding that “Special emphasis should be given to Arabic studies and to the spiritual legacy of our past” (Sudan Government, Ministry of Education, 1970:17).

In addition to Arabic, the minister mentioned the improvement in the teaching of second and foreign languages, especially French and English. The non-mention of the other Sudanese languages not only shows the level of attitude of neglect of those languages, but also that in the Arabic-speaking Sudanese ruling elite do not regard the indigenous African languages in Sudan as equal to Arabic and worth recognising. As I said earlier this position does not differ across the post-independence regimes, albeit, until the advent of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) which ended the second round of North-South Sudanese civil wars was signed in January 2005 in Nairobi. The language policy of the transitional government of national unity will be discussed in Chapter 9. The CPA contains articles which spell out language policy for post-civil war Sudan or New Sudan as the liberation side of the peace agreement would like it portrayed. This development indicates in theory a role for the indigenous languages along side the LWC in the post-civil war Sudanese society.

Although it started with a socialist agenda, the May regime made a volt face and almost brought the Sudanese state to the bring of collapse due to the ideological policies and programmes based on Islamic Fundamentalism. The May regime change in policy toward the South undermined the previous language and cultural development policy and the role given to indigenous languages as a result of the Addis Ababa Accord of 1972. This change of heart not only affected language policy, but it produced a series of negative outcomes including the collapse of the 1972 Addis Ababa Accord, the introduction of the divisive Islamic laws or Shari'a in 1983. Worst of all it also triggered the second civil war in the country (see Hasan, 2002, p 34) which lasted from 1983 to 2005 as mentioned above. The social and educational language policy ramifications of Islamic laws in Sudan as a whole and in Southern Sudan in particular can not be over emphasised.

The ruling National Congress Party (NCP) regime which seized state power in 1989 practises fundamentalist Islamic ideology and other strategies to achieve the goal of Arabicisation and Arabisation using the educational system, and focusing the policy particularly to Southern Sudan. By endorsing the Shari'a or Islamic laws enshrined in the country's legal system during the later years of the May government, the ruling NCP has not only continued to build on and with the application of the Islamic laws, but it has seized the opportunity to defend Shari'a laws even if they have stopped short of out rightly declaring the country an Islamic republic. In relation to language policy in education, some of the regime's declared educational aims or philosophy reveals a lot about their commitment to the creation of an Islamic state in Sudan this one, for example stresses the need:

“To work for the consolidation of the religious belief in the young and to instil into them individual and communal behaviour according to the teaching of religion to help form sound socio-economic and political values based on God's teachings” (Sudan Government, Ministry of Education, 1990:4).

The post-independence language policy, the Arabicisation policy, was now again driven by religious motives, perhaps much more than was the case during the previous regimes. Language policy was mentioned as part of the guidelines for curriculum planning and implementation.

“The national Curriculum should be applied in all regions of the Sudan with the Arabic language as the medium of instruction” (Sudan Government, Ministry of Education, 1990:7).

Unlike the policies of the previous Khartoum Governments, the NCP regime encouraged the development of second language programmes for the promotion of Arabic. As in the case of the May regime, the teaching of foreign languages like English and French is recognised and included in the policy, but not even a mention was made of the indigenous African languages.

Eight years later in 1998 however, due to internal and international pressure, the regime promulgated a so-called ‘permanent’ constitution after signing an agreement with breakaway SPLM/A factions in which article (3) on language policy says:

“Arabic language is the official language in the Republic of the Sudan; and the state shall allow the development of other local and international languages” (Draft Constitution, 1998:3; see also Sudan Government, Ministry of Education, 2000, p.1).

This policy statement in the regime’s so-called national constitution, like that on a similar constitution under the previous May regime in 1973, bears the hallmarks of political expedience shown in the language related articles of Addis Ababa Agreement which we will see in the discussion of the Southern Regional Government 1975 language policy below. Although it came at the time when there should have been proper recognition of political and socio-cultural rights of the marginalised people in Southern Sudan, who also represent important indigenous African language communities, it lacks the force to obtain the language rights of the marginalised groups who, as May (2006) puts it, by virtue of their power relations with the centre become minorities.

From language rights paradigm, in particular linguistic human rights in general and in education in particular (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006) the language policy pronouncements of the post-independence regimes indicate power relations between the ruling elites in the central government and the marginalised groups. These relations usually take the form of linguiscism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), or discrimination on account of language difference or knowledge or competence; linguistic imperialism, or control of minority groups by dominant one(s) (Phillipson, 1988), among other explanations.

These ideological and hegemonic dimensions explain the positions of the Sudanese regimes vis-à-vis the indigenous Sudanese African languages, and the persistent non-recognition of the indigenous Sudanese languages by the regimes in Sudan, notably the three whose language policy positions I have describe above. Linguicism and linguistic imperialism entails devaluing or denigration of indigenous languages status and lack of roles for those languages. A discussion of this relationship from perspectives of language status planning and assigning functions to languages, as evidenced by current literature on status language planning and views of Sudanese participants in this study follows below.

6.6. Reconstructing Sudanese Response to the Post-Independence Language Policy

Following Stewart (1972) and Scotton (1981) there are cases of resistance to language policies in some situations as well as total acceptance of similar policies in others. The Tanzanian and Sudanese language situations seem to be good examples of these language policy extremes. These authors also observe that in some situations there have been middle ground solutions where the new language is accepted to serve only in certain social situations. The paradox of the Sudan situation, seen in the light of the Tanzanian one, can be explained thus: The language policy of the ruling elite which favours only Arabic appears to some Sudanese people (Northerners) as victory over colonial policies and to others (Southerners) it is a new form of colonialism or neo-colonialism. In the discussion below of views of Sudanese and Southern Sudanese in particular, the post-independence Arabicisation policy legitimised and promoted by the successive post-colonial Khartoum regimes as the sole official language policy in a multilingual country is closely examined, as I said earlier, in the light of post-colonial or critical language policy perspectives as well as views of participants in this study. The argument here is to seek an educational and social-developmental role for the indigenous African languages, especially in Southern Sudan. Since colonial educational language policy accorded those languages this very role and function, this study posits that the position to the post-colonial regimes towards the indigenous languages seems to be promoting inequality in society on the basis of language. The discussion below seeks to explain the driving force behind the post-colonial language policies of the Sudan governments.

6.6.1. Sudanese Response to Arabicisation Policy

A discussion of the sociolinguistic dimensions relating to the implications of the post-independence Arabicisation language policy for the status and roles of indigenous Sudanese languages is given in Chapter 8, where the interview findings or data based on conversation with Sudanese participants in this study are discussed in detail. In this section of Chapter 6, I would like to show by means of self-reported ideas and views of the participants in this study from interview data, and supporting comments from relevant literature that the post-colonial Khartoum language policy of one nation, one language and one culture is not really appropriate for the whole country, particularly Southern Sudan. One of the significant issues in the language policy debate in Sudan in the context of this study points to the question of representing Sudanese identity. Although language use patterns of Sudanese in this study's interviews and their attitudes to Sudanese languages in relation to their being national resources would produce counter individual positions against the post-independence language policies described above, I will use the category of language learning and language skills in this study's interviews to show my participants' reactions to the current language policy in Sudan. This is to avoid repetition of the same categories in the discussions in two chapters. The interview data tend to support the fact that due to the symbolic and identity function of Arabic in the monolingual Arabicisation policy, the post-independence language policy is being contested. But also as we will find out in the discussion here involving alternatives language policies to the current language policy, this contest or resistance to Arabicisation policy is not a blind one. Rather, there are views indicating pragmatic approach to language policy which is likely to guarantee the central role and position of Arabic as an official and a national language in Sudan. A future language policy that recognises the status of indigenous Sudanese languages and assign them similar functions and roles is one of the focuses of this study. In order to appreciate the consideration of such a multilingual policy I now turn to show why the views of Sudanese participants in this study paint a completely different post-independence language situation or sociolinguistic picture from that on which the policy of Arabicisation has been based for the last 50 years of Sudan's independence.

6.7. Discussion of Participants' Views

In my conversation with the participants in this study's interviews on educational language issues, the participants produced ideas which are useful in the construction of meanings of the themes under discussion. These included the language languages the participants used as mediums of instruction, why their mother-tongues were not considered in the post-independence language policy. Above all whether they think there is a need for a comprehensive language policy fifty years after implementation of Arabicisation policy in Southern Sudan. Their attitudes to and evaluation of the indigenous and non-indigenous languages, among others. The central question was the current post-independence Arabicisation policy in Sudan. On the language or languages of instruction the participants learned in from infancy or primary level, Lu'bang, for example, said:

Bari was the medium of instruction in the first two years of primary school, English from middle primary school, or from year three, and thereafter English was the medium of instruction and Arabic taught as a subject (Lu'bang, 9-4-2003).

And when I asked Lu'bang to explain why his mother tongue (Bari) was not the medium of instruction during the rest of his schooling, his response was:

First, there was no policy to continue with the use of Bari as a medium of instruction. Second, at the mid primary level (after two years at village school) the student population was comprised of students from different language backgrounds. But lack of policy to support the use of my mother tongue was more decisive than the number of languages spoken by the few non-Bari speaking students (Lu'bang, 9-4-2003).

These two extracts contain several interpretations of the language situation in Southern Sudan from Lubang's perspective. However, we will limit our comment to language policy related observations. First, the extracts bring into question the issue of educational linguistic human rights. Skutnabb-Kangas (2006) claims that:

“Educational LHRs include both the rights to have the basic education mainly through the medium of the mother tongue, and the right to learn the official/dominant language well. These two are not contradictory: quite the opposite” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:280).

Even before the implementation of the Arabicisation policy after independence, the fact that Lu'bang's mother tongue was discontinued as early as primary two, which explains the colonial Rejaf language policy, shows a measure of proscription of the role of mother tongues in education in Southern Sudan. This must have been based on

the perceived low status of the local languages, or their lack of being developed to serve as medium of instruction at higher primary school on wards in the education system. In both ways—lack of clear mother tongue education policy and limiting the use of the mother tongues to early primary education show subtractive language learning (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006), which is a reality in the context of post-colonial Sudan. Subtractive language learning has far reaching negative effects on indigenous Sudanese languages. In this sense progress of Arabicisation meant total absence of local languages in the Southern classrooms. Linguistic genocide or deliberate killing of languages could follow, at worst, at best, performance of learners in the learning of skills, gaining knowledge and basic literacy could be affected (ibid).

On the question whether Sudan needs a comprehensive language policy fifty years after implementation of Arabicisation, I have sampled three responses all of which evoke Sudan's language diversity and multilingualism as a reason why an inclusive language policy is needed in Sudan. The coincidence of this research finding with the implementation of the CPA, which as we will see in the discussion of Chapter 9, contains innovative articles on language policy, may be helpful in the realisation of the suggested language policy. Yuggu, Ibrahim and Ahmed give the following views in response the question:

Yuggu: I think Sudan is in need of this kind of policy. I think bilingualism or trilingualism should be encouraged as far as Sudan is a multilingual society. English and Arabic should be used side by side. The local languages should not be ruled out at lower level of education. I think national governments should concern themselves with higher education, not primary level. May be from secondary upwards. Primary education is irrelevant to them because they shouldn't tell me that my mother tongue should not be taught in my area (Yuggu, 30-3-2003).

Yuggu's view and ideas indeed spell out several elements of a comprehensive language policy for Sudan where local languages and LWC will have roles. Although Yuggu limits the role of indigenous languages to primary level, his comment that primary education should be managed regionally rather than from the centre is valid and seems to echo the final suggestions in this thesis as we will see below.

Like Yuggu, Ibrahim is for a comprehensive language policy for Sudan on account of the reality of Sudanese language situation which is defined by multi-ethnicity, multilingualism and multiculturalism. Ibrahim puts it this way:

So instead of central government after independence adopting a language policy that encourages the use of language of one racial and ethnic group to the exclusion of others, the central

government should have designed a language policy that gives some empowerment, some domain to other major regional languages. There are languages in Southern Sudan such as Dinka that are spoken by about two million people, and you have regions where languages are dominant (Ibrahim, 4-4-2003).

Ibrahim's singling out of major languages for inclusion in a future comprehensive language policy is noteworthy. He shares this view with Ahmed who contends that central government authorities and relevant academic institutions such as the Institute of African and Asian Studies (University of Khartoum) have neglected Sudanese languages. According to Ahmed:

The Institute of African and Asian Studies teaches or taught Kiswahili and Hausa, but it neglected the Sudanese languages, some of which like Dinka is as large as Hausa (Ahmed, 5-4-2004).

Neglect of Sudanese local languages including large and major regional languages in the post-independence period confirms the idea of linguistic imperialism and linguicism. To turn these ideologically mediated concepts which utilise the education system to promote only the dominant language, Arabic, the situation can be averted partly by a comprehensive language policy which Ibrahim strongly recommends when he suggests that:

Any future language policy should allocate some domain of language use to these regional languages. There should be a number of national languages in the country. Arabic would maintain its role as a lingua franca and the other languages have regional roles, rather than excluding them altogether (Ibrahim, 4-4-2003).

Ibrahim's recommendation, like Yuggu's underline additive language learning situation where research studies (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006) have found out that students learn more concepts and skills. As this author observes:

“In additive learning situations high levels of majority-language skills are added to high level of mother-tongue skills” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:280).

From the foregoing discussion, I can say that the participants' views and recommendation of a comprehensive educational language policy for Sudan are an indication of the extent of resistance against Arabicisation policy as the sole educational language policy for the country. In order that the low status of the local Sudanese languages in relation to Arabic are not one of the underlying reasons for their neglect, in other words in order that linguicism and linguistic imperialism are defeated through a comprehensive language policy, as some of the participants views imply, then we need “to organise education so that it dose not participate in

committing linguistic genocide” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006:281). Attempts to develop a multilingual educational language policy in Southern Sudan are historical and they date to the colonial era, for example the Rejaf Language Conference which first carried out language planning for the region. Whereas the development of the Rejaf language policy was interrupted, paradoxically, by Sudan’s independence and the advent of a new, but monolingual Arabicisation policy, those initiatives were revisited during the life of the now defunct autonomous Southern Regional Government which lasted from 1972 to 1983, after which one of its architects, the May regime abrogated it. Below is an account of a language policy that is associated with that regional authority.

6.8. Language Policy of the Autonomous Southern Sudan

In the light of imposition of Arabicisation policy in the Southern Sudan, the educational language policy which was formulated on the basis of the Addis Ababa Accord (1972) can be regarded as a culmination of the Southern resistance to the central government language policies. No other Southern based educational language policy was formulated after the revision of the 1930 Southern Policy in 1946, which by implication meant the end of the 1928 Rejaf language policy. The period between 1946 and 1972 therefore witnessed resistance to Khartoum hegemonic policies towards the South notably in the extreme form of the first North-South civil war. Student strikes, political opposition, and so forth, notably in the early independence period in the 1950s but also more noticeably during the Abboud regime in the 1960s, were other methods of resistance.

The Addis Ababa Agreement rectified in 1972 was converted into a national organic law known as ‘The Southern Regional Self-Government Act 1972’ which empowered the then autonomous Southern Region to, among other human developmental needs, develop its cultures and languages, as long as those languages would expedite smooth running of local administration, useful for the implementation of the agreement. The 1972 Self-government Act was a confirmation of the 9th June declaration by the May regime. The autonomous government did not, however, have powers to legislate on limited independent educational planning including curriculum development, for example, since these were the spheres of the central government. The 1972 Self-

Government Act therefore contained limited language and cultural development rights for the Southern region then (Abu Bakr, 1975).

The language and education policy section of the 1972 Self-Government Act state that:

“Arabic shall be the official language of the Sudan and English the principal language for the Southern Region without prejudice to the use of any language or languages which may serve a practical necessity for the efficient and expeditious discharge of executive and administrative function of the Region” (Abu Bakr, 1975, on Self-Government Act 1972).

This law meant that both English and the local languages were to be tolerated as long as they served as languages of convenience or expediency in the discharge of administrative and executive functions in the then Southern Region and the country as whole. However, the recognition also by the central government of the role that Southern Sudan indigenous languages and could play in the social and economic development of the autonomous region meant that there was legal backing and a potential for the promotion of those languages by the Regional government. And activities toward the realisation of this article in the Addis Ababa Agreement were initiated.

The question that no one asked then was whether both the central government in Khartoum had the interest and will to act according to the spirit and the letter of the Addis Ababa Accord, and the regional government in Juba the independence and capacity to formulate a viable educational language for Southern Sudan. Events of language policy relevance that later unfolded, as we will see below in the description of the Southern Region educational language policy, show that the central government indeed did not have an interest in the regional language policy even though Arabic was given a prominent position in it at the expense of indigenous languages. And on its part the regional government did not have the resources necessary, including financial resources for proper language planning and implementation. As a result of several problems on the way of educational language policy in the South, not only were the language and culture aspects of the agreement not effectively utilised in order to contribute to the success of the peace agreement, but the whole agreement

was brought to an abrupt end by a presidential decree in 1983 by the May regime which rectified it in the first place.

6.8.1. Development of the Southern Sudan Educational Language Policy

In 1974, the Southern Sudan regional parliament debated a motion on language policy proposed by Honourable Joshua Dau Diu (see Appendix 6). A resolution was passed at the end of a contentious debate, on the suitability of either English or Arabic in the educational system in the South, to the effect that:

“The English language be reintroduced as a medium of instruction in the educational institutions of the Region as from the 1974/1975 academic year.”
(see Appendix 6; and Mahmud, 1983:6).

It is apparent that this resolution implied the use of English, the official language of the South, as the major medium of instruction in the Southern schools, since it was silent on Arabic and on roles for the indigenous languages. It is necessary to explain the possible reasons why the majority of the Southern legislators in 1974 were pro-English.

After the Regional parliament passed its resolutions in favour of English similar to above motion, it was presented for consideration and approval to the High Executive Council (HEC), the executive branch of the former Regional Government in Southern Sudan. The position of the then ruling HEC, described below, on the regional language policy which was passed to the Regional Minister of Education for implementation, showed substantial changes to the original language policy resolution passed by the parliament in September 1975.

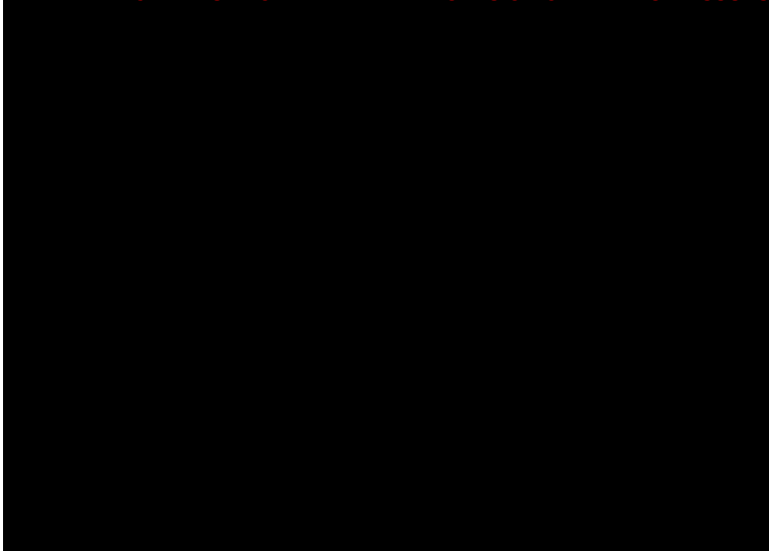
After considering this resolution, the HEC revised it and passed its own more inclusive version which emphasised

“The use of local languages and of Arabic and English for education in the Southern Region” (Appendix 7).

The two figures below demonstrate the basic formulations of the regional language policy as represented by primary level of education before future development of the policy.

Table 4: Showing Language Policy in Rural Primary Schools. Source: High Executive Council Resolution on Language Policy in Southern Region, 1975.

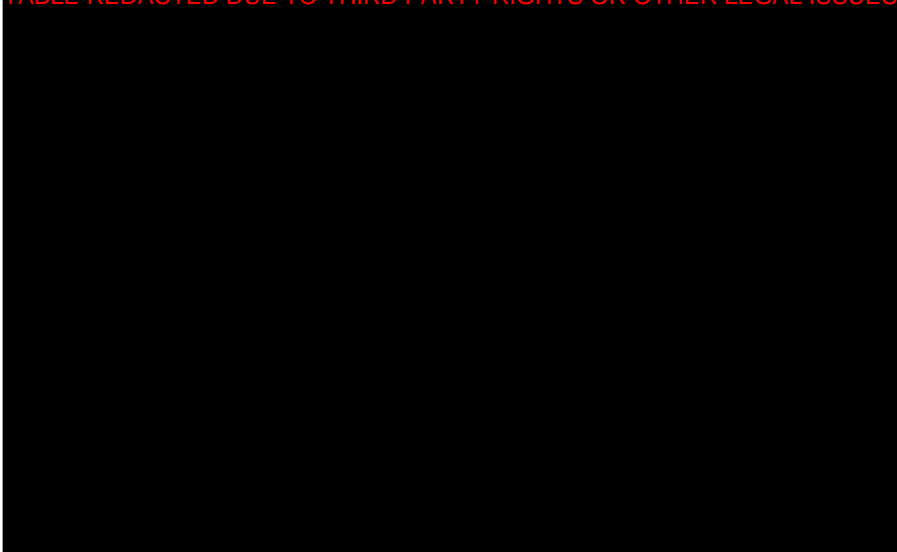
TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



P=Primary

Table 5: Showing Language Policy in Urban Primary Schools. Source: High Executive Council Resolution on Language Policy in Southern Region, 1975.

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



P=Primary

As indicated in Table 6 above, the policy stipulates that vernaculars be used as medium of instruction in four years in rural schools, while both Arabic and English are introduced orally. Arabic becomes the medium in the fifth and sixth year primary level with English intensified. In urban primary schools (Table 6) Arabic is the

medium of instruction with English introduced orally, and then gradually intensified as the written form was introduced as a learning subject.

The above two figures, showing details of language policy stipulation at the primary school levels as dictated by the rural and urban language situations, sufficiently provide the basis of the Southern language policy. The language policy for junior and senior secondary schools was straightforward. The Regional government recommended Arabic as the medium of instruction in all junior secondary schools while English is intensified; and English as the medium of instruction in all senior secondary schools and post-secondary schools with Arabic taught as a subject. In effect the policy may be summarised as follows: Indigenous languages as media of instruction in rural primary schools, Arabic in urban primary and in all junior secondary schools, and English as the medium in senior secondary schools. Appendix 7 shows the remaining sections of the policy recommendations which, I believe, were meant to be considered during the planning phase, include soliciting of necessary funds and the co-operation of expert agencies to assist the Regional Ministry of Education in the planning and implementation of the policy which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Although it is commendable because of its inclusiveness, in practice the former Southern Regional language described above posed a lot of implementation difficulties. It can be criticised on several grounds. For example, Cowan (1983) dubbed the regional government's language policy formulation a compromised solution "designed to accommodate the central government's insistence on maintaining Arabic in the educational system of the Southern Region" (Cowan, 1983: 76), while ensuring a high status position for English, the preferred language in the Southern Region. Hollman (1981:18) argues that although the policy is "politically acceptable, but it remains rather clumsy", and that it "will be effective only with careful planning and coordination". Although the former Southern Regional Government included several language planning dimensions in the policy formulation, for example establishing of the Institute of Regional Languages and regional Curriculum Development Centre, both in Maridi, Southern Sudan, (see Appendix 7), those activities were not based on careful planning and coordination in preparation for the implementation of the language policy. This was most likely due

to lack of capacity or resources to allow for the formation of such structures as language planning council and committees at local (school and community) levels.

6.9. The SPLM Language Policy

The language policy of the SPLM shows some signs of development from the traditional or pre-and post-independence language policies in Sudan. The pre-independence language policy which was the result of the Rejaf Language Conference, for example, focused on English and development of indigenous languages. The post-independence central government language policy was based on Arabic as the sole official and national language, and the regional language policy as we show it above was based on too many compromises that rendered its formulation clumsy and almost impossible to put into practice. Below is a description of the SPLM educational language policy showing its strength and weaknesses, particularly vis-à-vis the post-independence Sudan's language policies.

6.9.1. Development of the SPLM Educational Language Policy

In 1994 the SPLM convened its first National Convention and proclaimed the birth of 'New Sudan'³. The Convention was making a political claim of significant proportion and far reaching consequences for the future of Sudan as a whole. The proclamation can be interpreted as an attempt by the marginalised people to reclaim their sovereignty which they lost since Sudan's independence in 1956, or far before during the formation of the Sudanese state in its current borders, to the non-indigenous power elites usually based in Khartoum. Following the First SPLM National Convention in 1994 at Chukudum, Southern Sudan, where the idea of New Sudan was publicly proclaimed, the Secretariat set out to develop an SPLM education policy which includes language policy using the concept of New Sudan (a counter sovereign entity) to inspire social and educational development. In one of its conferences in 2002, the preamble to its final resolutions states that:

“the people of New Sudan, through the mechanism of a national convention,...has asserted their sovereign right to decide their future through proclamation of the New Sudan, thus paving the way for the formulation of an Education Policy of the New Sudan” (SPLM Education Policy, 2002:1).

³ According to the SPLM National Convention held in Southern Sudan in 1994 the concept of New Sudan temporarily includes three regions in the Southern Sudan, namely Upper Nile, Equatoria and Bahr El-Ghazal, and two in the North, The Nuba Mountains and Southern Blue Nile.

Based on these popular political assertions, the SPLM felt empowered and its Secretariat of Education was able to formulate an elaborate education policy aimed at achieving the goals of liberation. Education for self-reliance was regarded as a key factor for realising the Movement's mission "to liberate the individual and society" (ibid) from all forms of constraints to freedom, be that political, social, economic and other pursuits.

The language component of that policy is what interests us here. Few but valuable relevant documents on the SPLM educational language policy appear under various sub-headings including 'policy on curriculum' or curriculum development, 'cultural heritage', and 'development of languages of various nationality groups'. The relevant policy guidelines are concerned with and have spelt out several language policy statements including:

- "Use of mother tongue as medium of instruction in the first three years of primary education,"
- "Medium of instruction from primary four onwards is English,"
- "Arabic will be taught as a second language...as from primary five to primary eight, and there will be areas where it will be taught as the mother tongue beginning from primary one up to primary eight" (New Sudan Curriculum Committee, 1993:23).
- "Introduction of one New Sudan language other than mother tongue and a foreign language other than English as optional subjects from primary five and in secondary school" (SPLM Education Policy, 2002:14).

This means pupils' mother tongue and an additional language of their choice are taught as subjects from primary five and throughout secondary education.

In his interview, Kobi elaborates the points raised in bullet point one and two in the interview when the language policy conversation touched on the language policy touched on. He explained the points as follows:

After third year primary level, mother tongue teaching will go as far as we are able to develop materials and maintain its teaching as a subject (Kobi, 27-3-03).

Kobi also justifies the prominent role given to English language in the SPLM policy with two reasons, namely

because it is the language of science and technology and communication with the outside world (Kobi, 27-3-03).

In addition to the role for mother tongues, Kobi mentions the development of Juba Arabic which according to him

Juba Arabic is already moving alone and we want to give it direction. The pidgin has a robust ability to create new words from the local languages and in developing into a language in its own right which you may call Juba Arabic but really the Arabs do not even know it (Kobi, 27-3-03).

The SPLM educational language policy above represents a significant departure from the central government's post-independence policy which, until the signing of the Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) on 9th January 2005, insists on Arabic as the sole official and national language for the ethno-linguistically diverse country. Although it includes both English and Arabic the dominant languages in the country, and shares the concerns about the role of indigenous languages in the development of local language communities with the educational language policy of the former Regional Government in Southern Sudan, the SPLM language policy appears less complex than the 1975 Southern Region language policy. In this regard, it may be realisable with less cost economically speaking than the 1975 policy. Moreover, although it will need to be developed, the SPLM language policy does not appear to be based on expedience, or intended to placate contentious pro-central government public opinions as was the case with the former regional language policy in Southern Sudan. In this sense the SPLM policy does not seem to be made under pressure, and to compromise the position of the indigenous Sudanese languages in any way, without prejudice to the status of Arabic as an official as well as one of Sudan's national languages. Nor does it include unnecessarily complicating elements intended to please the central government. In the light of the CPA the SPLM language policy has the potentials for developing into a comprehensive educational language policy for the postulated New Sudan which includes Southern Sudan, at least in the interim period.

6.9.2. Ramifications of the SPLM Educational Language Policy

The seriousness with which the SPLM or New Sudan educational language policy is held is shown by the adoption of that policy in the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile regions, and recent pronouncements of the leaders of Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM) in Darfur alluded to the teaching of mother tongues in the education system in

the vast region. It is worth mentioning that all these areas are geographically regarded as parts of the North and traditionally claimed by Khartoum as already integral parts of the Arabic-speaking or Arabised and Islamised North. The direction or common goal seems to be pointing towards the implementation of a multilingual policy. There also seems to be awareness among indigenous speakers in all the marginalised areas in the North which tend to give support to such a policy. After considering the multiplicity of languages in the SPLM controlled areas or the New Sudan Korseed refers to the SPLM language policy in which

The languages are given different roles from mother tongue at primary level, English as the language of instruction and Arabic as a subject". He adds: "The mother tongue policy should be implemented so that the learner feels proud and should maintain and value his language...nation (Korseed, 29-4-03).

Korseed's description of his language use in different domains below should also lead to the consideration of a more inclusive language policy.

I use English as the main language for work in the office. English is the official language of New Sudan which includes South Sudan, Nuba Mountains and the Blue Nile region. Arabic is used when work is involving people or members of staff or visitors who do not speak English (Korseed, 29-4-03).

This language use pattern is unusual for a Northern Sudanese, but Korseed gives this explanation:

There has been a shift in the policy from Arabic to English in the Nuba Mountains. The new policy started in 1995 when schools were opened in the Nuba Mountains after a long absence of education in the region due to the war situation (Korseed, 29-4-03).

This period, marking the shift in language policy in parts of the Northern region, is significant in the development of the SPLM language policy because it followed the 1994 First SPLM National Convention which marked the consolidation of the idea of New Sudan and beginning of organisation of civil society in New Sudan, as a response to or attempt at the implementation of some of the Convention resolutions. According to the First SPLM National Convention, New Sudan includes the three Southern regions and two regions from geographical Northern Sudan, i.e. the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile.

Adam highlights the same point about the SPLM educational language policy while stressing the multilingual sense of a pluralist policy, when he says that:

The SPLM actual educational policy includes Arabic because it is needed by the people of the New Sudan for interaction with the rest of the Sudanese citizens. Our policy is therefore multilingual or trilingual. It is important for development in our case (Adam, 29-4-03).

Considering that the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile regions were indeed already using Arabic as the sole official language for administration and education in line with the post-independence central government language policy. But after becoming involved in the liberation struggle against the policies of the central government in Khartoum, the two regions developed independent ways of administering their people. They operated devolved local governments with their own Advisory Councils (with local legislative powers) under local Regional Secretaries or Governors. The Nuba Advisory Council, for example, held a meeting in 2001 in which they reviewed the education policy in the region. Among its decisions were the three stated below:

- 1) To use English language as the official language of the region and as the medium of instruction in schools from first grade. The use of English in education entails:
 - a) To provide upgrading courses in English to a wide spectrum of the population,
 - and b) importing into the region as a temporary measure proficient English teachers from Southern Sudan, Uganda and Kenya to boost the learning of English.
- 2) To provide primary teacher education programmes within the Nuba Mountains region in order to hasten the production of trained teachers for schools in the region.
- 3) To develop a secular system of education in the Nuba region giving parents the responsibility for and the freedom to choose the religious education of their children, whether Christian or Muslim. Wednesday is chosen, to replace Sunday and Friday, as the official weekly holiday in the parts of the region under the SPLM to demonstrate the seriousness with which the authorities hold religious neutrality (Nuba Advisory Council Education Report, 2003)

By and large, this adoption of an English-based language policy by the people of the Nuba and the other regions in the Northern Sudan can be taken as a reaction to the post-independence language policy of the Khartoum regimes. Adam indicates a deep intellectual and political understanding of the post-independence language policy

developments in Sudan which focuses on the adoption of English and its future role as a co-official language with Arabic in the marginalised areas in the North. This can be regarded as a reaction against the Arabisation policy:

As a matter of policy, English was discouraged by the post-independence central government. It was then first limited to a few intellectuals. After that it was abolished and the elites decided to send their children abroad and to very expensive local private schools, such as the Khartoum International School which the ordinary person can not afford, only the aristocrats and the bourgeois classes. English was not given a chance at all, and the ordinary people were deprived. Even the British were not serious (giggles) about it. So, I think the central government has managed to curtail the role of English in the North from what it was in the early days after independence (Adam, 29-4-03).

Adam is also aware about the fact that English does not include all or even most of the Sudanese citizens in the Southern Sudan and the Nuba region for example. However, he says:

It is not easy to judge the role of English in the exclusion or inclusion of Sudanese in the affairs of their nation because there were very few people affected by it. As a matter of comparison, English is better than Arabic because of the diversity of the languages in our country. Moreover, we want to be connected to the international community, to the world of science and technology. We want to cut our portion from the international cake, because with the local language you will not find a chance (Adam, 29-4-03).

And on the controversial question of language neutrality which came up in the conversation, Adam says:

Any language is a vehicle of the culture and values incorporated in it. But Arabic is relatively less neutral than English because of proximity of the Sudan to the Arab World, and the intensions of Arabic which include assimilation of the non-Arab Sudanese. We believe that English is relatively neutral because no southern Sudanese who speaks fluent English can claim that he is an Anglo-Saxon (Adam, 29-4-03)

Although the evidence in these documents is limited and may not provide credible evaluation of the language policy position of the Nuba and other dissenting non-Arab regions in the North, the documents on education policy which includes language policy provisions shows not only the extent to which the Nuba region has demonstrated the desire to shift away from the Arabic culture and traditions, but also that the authorities are able to go an extra distance to demonstrate their seriousness about the concept of a secular education which is in tandem with the notion of New Sudan as preached in the SPLM political programme, in contrast to the Islamic fundamentalist ideology of the current regime in the Old Sudan. But the CPA as explained above is an attempt at finding a pragmatic solution to the language-related

educational problems of the marginalised areas, and for the first time since independence, the educational language policy, at least during the interim period, should be planned at the level of central government if not by it.

6.10. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explained the context of language policy and planning in the form of a rationale relating to language policies in post-colonial countries. I have also stated the rationale, the factors, as well as specified the possible aims and goals of the Sudan's central government language policy, stating the factors involved. The examination of participants' interview data, in addition to the explanation of the principle of status planning in which allocation of language functions is effected as a solution to the real as well as perceived problem of linguistic diversity revealed that the monolingual Arabicisation policy is untenable in the Sudanese context; or in the context of the CPA (as long as Southern Sudan remains part of the Sudan during the on going transitional period and beyond; depending on the results of the impending referendum. More on this point will be discussed in Chapter 9, the concluding chapter.

The language policies of the former Southern Regional Government and the SPLM educational language policy were discussed as examples of outcomes of resistance to monolingual Arabicisation policy. While the policy of the former Southern Regional Government was a compromise solution between Arabicisation on the one hand, and the Southern need for English and a role for indigenous Sudanese languages on the other, that of the latter, based on the philosophy of 'New Sudan', seems to point a direction towards the formulation of a viable national or comprehensive language policy to be applied in all sectors of public and private life in Sudan. As mentioned in the foregoing chapters, and more on this point will be discussed in Chapter 9, the constitutional framework for the realisation of this policy have already been worked out when the CPA and the Interim National Constitution were rectified in July 2005.

It is worth emphasising that although the formulation of the Sudan's post-independence language policies, both at the central and regional government levels were concerned with status planning, there was very little evidence pointing to systematic planning activities, such as fact-finding before policy statements, goals and

strategies were lacking, and the language communities often not involved. When you add onto these variables absence of financial support to implement policies, you get the real reason why those language policies have not been successful. The mention of a plan by the Minister of Education in the former Regional Government during the Regional Assembly debate on language policy (see Appendix 6) could not amount to planning. There was also no national language planning body in place, as now strongly recommended by the OAU (now AU) for all its member States (including Sudan) in the 1986 Language Plan of Action for Africa (see Appendix 9). The post-independence central government language policy was therefore not carried out in accordance with the procedures by the language policy makers and planners (Nyati-Ramahobo's, 1998 model in Chapter 5). May be that was not necessary for Khartoum given its limited ideologically based goal of Arabisation, among the other political and educational aims. In this sense, as Bamgbose (2000) says, the Sudanese status planning was carried out arbitrarily to achieve narrow goals. The absence of a language planning body to review policy making may explain the apparent imposition of Arabic in the Southern Sudan and the resultant resistance from Southerners. These are lesson to learn for future language planning efforts. In the meantime, the drive to create a one-nation-one-language, in the last 50 years of Sudan's independence, out of an essentially linguistically diverse Sudanese society has left many language and language-related problems to be resolved. The nature of those problems will be revealed in Chapter 7 which discusses language policy implementation.

Chapter 7

Implementation of Sudan's Post-Independence Language Policies

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 6 we examined, among other issues, the aims of the post-independence educational language policy of the central government in Khartoum. Chapter 7 discusses the extent to which the government policy succeeded in achieving those aims. The implementation of the Arabicisation policy, the 1975 former Southern Regional language policy as well as the educational language policy of the SPLM, are the contexts of discussion in Chapter 7. Examining language policy implementation allows for exploring and learning useful lessons and insights which may be helpful in the formulation of an alternative more inclusive educational language policy for Sudan. The discussion in Chapter 7 is based on a number of assumptions or postulations which I associate with language policy implementation in the Sudanese context. One is the need for a planned as opposed to imposed implementation of the post-independence language policy which should have been inclusive and acceptable to the linguistically diverse Sudanese population. The second is the need for legal, professional and community backing to language policy implementation in such a society. And finally, the third assumption is preparation for language policy implementation that includes: teacher education and training, formation of language planning bodies at all levels of communities, and production of textbooks and teaching materials.

With these ideas in mind, I begin the discussions in Chapter 7 by providing a theoretical and a historical context of language policy implementation. While the former is intended to locate language policy implementation within the theoretical frameworks for language policy and planning explained in Chapter 5, the latter provides a comparison regarding the extent to which the post-independence educational language policies have been planned. I then describe the strategies employed by successive central governments in the implementation of the Arabicisation policy, focusing on the approaches of the Aboud and the ruling National Congress Party (NCP) regimes. The two are good examples of Arab-dominated regimes in Sudan which assumed state power through military means in addition to positing

Arabism and Islamic ideology as their *modus operandi*. The NCP has ruled the country since 1989. However, it is the manner in which the Islamist regime carried out the implementation of the Arabicisation and Islamisation policies, until it signed peace with SPLM in January 2005 that is relevant in this discussion. The implementation of the Southern Regional educational language policy which was instituted in 1975 is discussed, as well as efforts by the SPLM to implement its educational language policy in severe conditions of war. Finally, attempts to evaluate the implementation of the Arabicisation and the regional policies in the Southern Sudan are described to complete the processes involved in the cycle of language policy and planning in Sudan after independence.

7.2. Theoretical Context of Language Policy Implementation

Language policy implementation is part of status language planning, as explained in Chapter 5. It is concerned with functional implementation, involving the spread of the selected and standardised variety through education and the mass media, among other means (Mbaabu, 1996 p.57). May (2001) describes implementation as “promoting the language variety via print, discouraging the use of other language varieties within official domains, encouraging users to develop a loyalty to and pride in it” (May, 2001:150). Language policy implementation is also part and parcel of the holistic language planning processes. It is therefore likely to overlap with other language planning activities, including codification and elaboration, which belong to corpus planning. Mbaabu, (1996:58) refers to Haugen’s model as “potentially cyclic, in that status planning can result from corpus planning”, when it becomes necessary to review the success or failure of corpus planning by revising status planning. This is indeed the case, as the components of language policy and planning in the comprehensive model in Chapter 5 developed by Nyati-Ramahobo (1998) indicate. Nyati-Ramahobo’s (1998) model shows clearly that language planning processes are not linear. Moreover, the model shows that ideally as language planning takes into account the environmental factors, and leads to fact-finding, implementation and evaluation processes, it provides for a reversed cycle in the process where by results of evaluation are fed to the planning phase, for the process to begin again. The discussion in this chapter takes the theoretical processes in the models cited above as its guiding procedures.

These observations describe familiar situations in multilingual post-colonial countries. Language policy implementation in this description is therefore one of the activities involved in the spread of the official language or variety selected by government. This limiting of the meaning of language policy implementation fits in well into the analyses of post-independence implementation of Arabicisation policy by Sudan's central government in the Southern Sudan in this study.

Relevant conceptual aspects of language policy implementation are discussed in Chapter 5 in various explicit and implied contexts. In Cooper's model it is assumed under 'Acquisition Planning'. It is most clear and elaborately shown and explained in the models by Haugen (1983) and Nyati-Ramahobo (1998), where implementation is one of the language planning processes. In the Haugen's model, implementation is a phase in the status planning process and falls under 'function cultivation'. It involves educational spread of the selected variety, correction procedures and evaluation. In Nyati-Ramahobo's model, which gives similar but more detailed explanation, it incorporates elements from Coopers' and Haugen's frameworks. In general, the post-colonial perspectives such as linguicism and the centralised and control governance system, used as explanatory frameworks in the discussion of language policy in Chapter 6, are equally relevant to the discussion of language policy implementation.

7.3. Historical Context of Language Policy Implementation

Although Chapter Six takes into consideration the post-independence implementation of language policies in Sudan as a whole, a brief outline of the plans and strategies employed in the implementation of the pre-independence language policies such as the Rejaf Language policy (1928), provide a point of reference vis-à-vis the evaluation of the post-independence language policies. This link is important in the current situation particularly because the Rejaf language policy in Southern Sudan, which was implemented from 1928 to until independence in 1956, is a colonial legacy and has continued to influence language policy and planning in Sudan at the level of central and regional governments. The importance of the Rejaf language policy resolutions in the discussions on language policy implementation in this study is shown by the fact that many of the strategies adopted then are still relevant today. Language in education scholars and institutions interested in language policy in the country, such as the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which participated in the

implementation of the 1975 regional language policy, in addition to views of participants in this study tend to refer to the pre-independence language policy, plans and procedures as points of comparison and for guidance whenever they consider current language policy implementation issues. Ibrahim for example, considers the 1975 Southern Region language policy as a part of the colonial one:

The regional language policy was a revisiting of the Rejaf Language Conference of 1928 (Ibrahim, 4-4-03).

Likewise, Lomude links the SPLM language policy to the Rejaf policy when he remarks that:

The SPLM has gone a long way in planning to reinstate the old system (Lomude, 25-3-03).

By this he means the language policy formulated at Rejaf in 1928 and implemented in the South up to the independence period. The implementation of the Rejaf language policy includes five main plans, procedures and structures which comprise its resolutions. These were discussed in Chapter 4 as part of Rejaf Conference terms of reference, and they are:

- Development of a unified orthography based on the Roman alphabet for the group languages which were adopted as medium of instruction in Southern education system.
- Production of textbooks, primers and supplementary readers for schools in the South. This task was assigned to both the government and missions as a co-operative effort.
- Development of Lexicography which involved the revision of the existing dictionaries and grammars in the group languages, and compilation of new ones based on the unified orthography.
- Development of teacher training institutions in which indigenous languages were given a role. This has continued since the mid 1920s and was aimed at going beyond 1930s when the Southern Policy started to be implemented.
- Establishment of a Publications Bureau in Juba for the purpose of implementing the language policy formulated at Rejaf. The Christian Missions in the South owned private printing facilities. The Juba Publication Bureau

became a focal point in the implementation of Arabicisation policy in the Southern education system in the 1950s, albeit as a transitional measure.

The above implementation procedures and language planning structures serve as points of comparison with the extent to which language policy implementation plans for the post-independence Arabicisation policy, especially in Southern Sudan, were drawn up and followed by the previous regimes. The point here is that the Rejaf plans and procedures above could serve as a simple model of good practice for the post-independence language policy implementation to which I now turn below.

7.4. Implementation of Arabicisation in Southern Sudan: Implications for Indigenous Languages

The various central governments in Khartoum approached the implementation of the Arabicisation language policy in varying ways. As the description of language policy implementation discussion of the context above shows, the spread of Arabic in Southern Sudan was the main concern of the post-independence regimes. The Interim government for example took steps relating to language policy implementation before the formal declaration of independence. And, in 1951 the First Five Year Plan for Development of Education in Southern Sudan was unveiled. Immediate steps were taken toward the implementation the Arabicisation policy in Southern Sudan, as part of planning for the independence period. These plans which also constituted the goals of language policy formulation and in Chapter 6 were:

1. Adopting Arabic writing script for the Southern vernacular languages
2. Nationalisation of Southern education system, hitherto under Christian Missions.
3. Unification of the two educational systems.
4. Laying plans for new teacher training institutions, and production of books and teaching materials in Arabic (Sudan Government, Ministry of Education, 1951-56 Proposals).

Lu'bang captures the situation in his comments about the implementation of language policies post-independence by central governments in Sudan when he mentions swings in language policy strategies which have made implementation intractable.

Lu'bang: I recall the historical steps in language policy changes and conclude that there was no pattern of language use developed since independence. Instead we were swinging like a pendulum from one policy to another. The different periods of the swings including introduction of Arabicisation policy after independence was intended to replace the missionary education policy, which was based on English as the medium of instruction (Lu'bang, 9-4-03).

The above comment constitutes the first phase of failed language policy implementation after independence. As we saw in the language policy discussion in Chapter 6 and just above in this section, there were always plans and strategies made as part of language policies in the independence period, contrary to Lu'bang's comments. What was always lacking was the support or will on the side of central government to put those plans into practice. Here is what Lu'bang says about two other swings which affected language policy implementation in Sudan:

The 1972 Addis Ababa Accord brought in English as the official or principal language of Southern Sudan. The regional education and language policy (1975) was not properly nor fully implemented. Some schools continued to function in Arabic as the medium of instruction, and others used English, so there were what came to be called Arabic and English patterns or systems of education, particularly in primary and junior secondary schools... With the current ruling regime, the country's education system has again been Arabicised as we are back to a policy of using Arabic as the medium of instruction in all levels from primary one to the completion of university. I can conclude that the changes mentioned above show that there was no planned language policy for the Country (Lu'bang, 9-4-03).

Lu'bang is correct in his conclusion in as far as language planning should put into action all the components described in the model in Chapter 5. Implementation should have led to evaluation and perhaps revision of the existing plans. These were conspicuously lacking as there were no national language planning bodies formed at the central government level, or that had the legal, technical and financial support of the central government to oversee the implementation of the language policies (Hurreiz and Bell, 1975). The point regarding legal, technical and financial support is relevant to the implementation of the 1975 Southern Regional language policy, in that even though the SIL was contracted by the former Regional government in the South to help implement the post-1972 Addis Ababa Agreement language policy, its work was constrained in many ways as it was a foreign organisation. It also had its own agenda as Rev Kiriba points out which might have complicated the language situation further.

Rev Kiriba: The problem was that as the agreement was being implemented, everybody wanted to read in their own language. The SIL had another aim besides the educational aim. For this reason

they also encouraged the development of the other languages (those which were regarded as minor languages at the Rejaf language conference). As a result of these changes in people's attitudes to languages, we now have about 28 languages which have been written by the SIL. But we are told that there are about 50 languages in the Southern Sudan, so the 28 is still nothing. The question is are they (the SIL) going to develop all these languages? And do they have the funds? For our educational purposes it means a lot in terms of funds and resources (Rev Kiriba, 1-4-03).

Furthermore, the creation of the Institute of Regional Languages as a language planning body was a welcomed development in the implementation of the regional language policy. However, it depended much on foreign aid, including from SIL. So lack of financial support from Khartoum hampered its work.

The discussion which follows below is an attempt at explaining and assessing the success of the post-independence implementation of language policies in achieving their aims as well as in enhancing the status and role of indigenous languages in Southern Sudan.

7.4.1. Implementation by the Aboud Regime

The attempt by the Aboud regime to change the writing script of Southern languages from Roman to Arabic stands out as one of the radical plans which characterises the implementation Arabisation by the regime. Islamisation programme directed at Southern Sudan, was part and parcel of the Arabisation ideology using the educational system as a medium.

In 1959/60, the Abboud military government attempted to implement part of the plan to Arabicise the Southern education system. This strategy was aimed at speeding up the unification of the two separate education systems followed during the colonial period by approaching it via the change of the writing script of the Southern vernaculars from the existing Roman alphabet to Arabic script. The radical plan was not an end in itself, but a means or transition to full-blown Arabic medium education. As the Minister of Education in the Aboud government puts it, to achieve unification of the two systems:

“the ministry has entrusted to a committee of masters, led by an expert in languages, the task of writing booklets in the different Southern dialects but in Arabic alphabet, as a first step towards the teaching of Arabic” (Sudan Government, Ministry of Education, 1951-56 Proposals: p 19).

As the Minister has indicated, the plan to change the writing script of the Southern indigenous languages involved the employment of Dr Asakir, an Egyptian linguist to head a team of language experts. The result of a pilot study was several primers in Arabic script by 1960/61 scholastic year. Six of the original nine vernacular group languages, namely Bari, Dinka, Lotuho, Nuer, Shilluk and Zande, which were recommended in the Rejaf Language Conference in 1928, and since used as medium of instruction in lower primary schools were covered in the pilot study (Hurreiz and Bell, 1975; Abu Bakr, 1975). It is worth recognising the motive behind the Khartoum government plans to Arabicise the Southern languages' writing script.

Hurreiz and Bell (1975) regard the proposal to write Southern languages in Arabic script as encouragement of

“the acquisition of the ‘national script’ at the earliest stage of education, in order to facilitate the ultimate acquisition of Arabic itself” (Hurreiz and Bell, 1975:31).

Deep down, however, the motive behind the central government decision to change the existing alphabet of the Southern indigenous vernacular languages to Arabic script was apparently political and ideological. Le Clezio (1975) explains the ideological reason behind the Arabic script saying: the fact that Arabic is the official language of Sudan means

“The Arabic alphabet, as has been seen, is one aspect of the Arabic culture, and as such it is felt to be a factor in national integration, just as in the (former) USSR the Cyrillic alphabet, a traditional element of the dominant Russian culture, was felt to be a factor of integration of the non-Russian-speaking peoples...In the Sudan, the ultimate aim is to teach the Southerner to read and write Arabic” (le Clezio, 1975:42; my emphasis).

Although I agree with the explanation of the motive behind the writing of the indigenous languages in Arabic script, the fact that the change of alphabet was successful in the former Soviet Union may not necessarily follow in Sudan.

The pilot project of the Aboud regime could not be built on for several reasons, including most importantly the resistance to the regime's Arabisation and Islamization policies in Southern Sudan in the 1960s. This resulted in the closure of schools in the region due to massive student and popular unrest. Moreover, the first North-South civil war (1955-1972) escalated (Albino, 1970). In the meantime, Khartoum scrapped

the village schools system where the indigenous vernaculars were needed, and in 1965/1966 the vernacular language teachers were transferred to Northern Sudan for retraining to teach in Arabic (Albino, 1970; Sandell, 1983). Academics at the Institute of African and Asian Studies (IAAS) University of Khartoum, did not agree with the government view on the change of the orthography of the indigenous Sudanese languages. Their interest was to maintain the Roman alphabet in the South and possibly to extend its use to the North in order to study Sudanese folklore and oral traditions among the indigenous African people there. In addition to these reasons there are technical linguistic explanations which are outside the scope of this thesis. However, it is sufficient to indicate that Hurreiz and Bell (1975), Le Clezio (1975) and Nyombe (1997) provide explanations of the linguistic problems or the inadequacies associated with the use of Arabic script in writing indigenous African languages in Sudan.

7.5. Imposition of Arabisation and Islamisation on Southern Sudan Through Language Policy

In Sudan as in the other member states of the Arab League, which also happen to be predominantly Muslim countries, the line of demarcation between propagation and spread of Arabic language and Islamic religion is blurred. Neither is Arabisation, the ideological aspect of the process which should end up in assimilation as a goal, a separate phenomenon. For this reason, the implementation of Arabisation policy in Southern Sudan, in the early and later independence years, has been resisted by Southerners. Sandell (1982:76) accurately sums up the competing positions of the Southern and Northern elites when she says that in the 1960s the relations between the two sides were “characterised by greater militancy”. The twin programme of implementing Arabisation and also promoting the spread of Islam in Southern Sudan was and has been the cause of this resistance. The Aboud regime put up a massive Islamization programme in Southern Sudan (Albino, 1970; Hasan, 2002). As Hasan puts it correctly, the regime

“stepped up the policy of national integration as the only way to promote unity; it embraced cancellation of cultural practices that impede cultural uniformity and it encouraged the spread of Islamic education and promotion of Arabic as a national language” (Hasan, 2002:30).

Several Islamic schools were opened for the first time in the South within a space of a couple of years. The Aboud plans were to accelerate Islamization and Arabicisation, nationalise the former mission schools, and enact a law send to Christian Missionaries out of Sudan. The Missionary Societies Act was in place by 1962, effectively sending away White Missionaries in 1963 (ibid). This accelerated educational expansion did not however impress the Southerners who had to live with an imposed and poorly planned language policy. The cultural or religious impact of Arabicisation might be incalculable and far reaching on the Southern Sudanese society. As part of resistance perspective, some observers link the military takeover in 1958 to the growing opposition of the Southerners to central government language policy, as carried by the media and by party representatives in the national parliament in 1957/58 period. Their demands for political rights in the form of a federal system as a reaction to the post-independence aggressive policies of Arabisation and were getting louder.

It was at this same time that resistance to the central government political programme towards the South and to the Arabicisation policy in particular, grew and was consolidated among the Southern educated groups and the masses. In addition to the activities in the national parliament, Southern leaders in exile campaigned hard against the Arabisation policy of the central government. The Arabicisation policy was perceived by many Southern Sudanese and people from the other marginalised areas as a vehicle of cultural assimilation and forced Islamisation.

These are issues clearly related to the current discussion in the literature on language policy as ideology, culture rights and the need for neutrality in second or foreign language in order to preserve the cultural integrity of the second language learners. Rubagumya (2004) discusses the role of English in Africa in the context of globalisation and concludes that the teaching of English as a second language needs to be made neutral by taking out the ideological and cultural motives and to allow equal role for indigenous African languages in the sharing of the global cake or in the economic co-existence, since these languages are spoken by an absolute majority of the population. This position is correct in the context of his study, but here is what one of the Sudanese participants said along similar lines, showing the universal extent of the awareness about language rights.

Adam one of the SPLM leaders from the Nuba Mountains region gives a perspective of disaffected Northern Sudanese regarding the central government's language policy implementation. Adam speaks about the role of Arabicisation policy as a deep seated ideology affecting public life of Non-Arab Sudanese, especially in the education system. The discrimination aspect of Arabicisation, and how a language policy can determine the future of an individual person's educational progression as well as their subsequent social status are emphasised:

I see education as the most effective tools of the minority ruling clique in Khartoum. The rulers in Khartoum have managed through education to marginalize the majority of the Sudanese people, and especially the Nuba people. The Nuba are one the most affected group as a result of this education policy (Adam, 29-4-03).

Adam carries on:

If you don't pass Arabic then you will not continue with your education. And moreover, there are a lot of policies that discriminate against those who don't speak Arabic fluently. You cannot work in so many institutions because of your tongue and the way you speak Arabic. So again they (the Nuba) are segregated against, they are affected economically and socially because of this education system (Adam, 29-4-03).

Due to some of the reasons above which show the negative effects of Arabicisation which blend into the central government's discriminative policies, Adam seems convinced that Arabic is not a neutral language in the Sudanese society:

On top (of all these reasons) we believe that Arabic language is not neutral in this war against the Nuba. In fact it is one of the most effective tools in the war. It is not neutral. Arabic is used very efficiently by the ruling cliques to attract, classify and also to assimilate, to do a lot of things that discourage people and discriminate against them (Adam, 29-4-03).

There are a few instances in the interviews when participants concurred with Adam's position as they also favoured a culture-free Arabic, or Arabic that is not overloaded with religious and cultural bias, as it were, in relation to the other Sudanese languages. Those participants explained their desire to learn Arabic as an important functional language in Sudan today, and at the same time wished to maintain their cultural identity. The question is whether the demands of the speakers of indigenous languages in Sudan for a culture or religion free (neutral) Arabic language is possible. There are indications that this is in deed possible as these interview extracts show. As he gave an account of the arguments that form the basis of the language policy component of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Sudan, Lomude reveals that...

As for the May regime, although their educational programmes in the South were initially slightly different from those of the Aboud government, they did not in the end differ much in their general orientation of the country towards Arabism and Islamism. It is worth reminding ourselves that the less radical approach of the May regime initially was perhaps because during most of its rule there was relative peace in the country from 1972 to 1983.

7.6. Implementation by the Ruling NCP Regime

The current ruling National Congress Party government in Sudan (formerly National Islamic Front NIF), has implemented the Arabisation policy more rigorously than the previous regimes discussed above. This is due mostly to the Islamic ideology behind the policy. The NIF dominated government held a formative educational policy conference in 1990 in Khartoum in which the educational philosophy of the current regime, Islamism, was spelt out. The NIF leaders have since used this as a tool to guide their policies for the control of the state, “the up-bringing of a God-fearing generation,” and a future Sudanese society with a distinct Islamic and Arabic character among the people of the world (Sudan Government, Educational Policy Conference, 1990:4b). Islam is the central focus for the achievement some of the educational aims such as national unity and socioeconomic development as re-stated by the government since it came to power. While this approach leaves no room whatsoever for the indigenous languages and cultures in the context of the pre-eminent socialising and civilising programme, it is not a new phenomenon in Sudan, and indeed in most developing countries, for political and military leaders to use the education field as a means of control and of introducing new, often imported ideologies to achieve political goals.

7.6.1. Nationwide Imposition of Arabisation Policy

It is not difficult to imagine from the description of the context above how the central government language policy has been implemented. It is worth mentioning here that the policy is designed to be implemented in the whole country, without the exception accorded Southern Sudan in the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement on account of its historical claims to difference in cultures and traditions. Neither did the ruling regime make exception to the rule by allowing the church schools, universities and institutions of higher education, particularly those based in the South such Juba

University to use English as a medium of education and training. This approach of the Islamist government therefore shows how different, in theory and practice, it is from the other regimes as far as its plans to Islamise and Arabise the country, especially Southern Sudan, are concerned about the bold and overt approach of the NIF regime to Arabicisation in the Southern Sudan (e.g. Nyombe, 1997).

The NIF regime's 1990 formative educational policy conference report, in addition to review conference reports in 2001 and 2002, form an invaluable source of documentary evidence on plans and strategies aimed at language policy implementation. Major aspects of language policy implementation—teacher training at all levels, teacher-education curriculum, illiteracy eradication programmes were heavily influenced by the orientation towards Islamic and Arabic ways of life. Teachers' employment and service conditions were reviewed and improvements that were proposed as one of the conference resolutions included employment of holders of university degree

“In order to remedy the students' poor performance in Islamic Education and Arabic Language.” (Sudan Government, Education Policy Conference, 1990:11).

With regard to the eradication of illiteracy, a nationwide programme was recommended to tackle the issue. Arabic was obviously selected as the medium of literacy campaign, thus making the policy impracticable in the areas where the indigenous Sudanese languages not Arabic are the functional languages of the adult populations, not only in rural Southern Sudan, but also in the West, East and central areas of the country. Whatever educational planners in Khartoum think, the rural adult population in particular would not be motivated to learn in a strange language. Nevertheless, the strategy of the central government for eliminating illiteracy is perhaps contains some innovations. In addition to employing the newly designed policy of military service as tool of literacy campaign, “teenagers schools” and ‘Khalwas’ were also employed (ibid, p. 9).

Development of the curriculum of teacher education was singled out in the 1990 Education Policy Conference and discussed in relation to modern ideas and to the role of Islamic thinking in it. It was recommended that teachers' continuous professional

development be undertaken to improve their skills as well as the teaching subjects including languages. This plan was to be carried out in addition to equipping them

“with enough knowledge of the science of the Holy Koran to enable them to effectively impart this knowledge to their pupils” (Educational Policy Conference, 1990:13).

In this respect the status of the ‘Khalwa’, an Islamic education institution, comparable to a village school in the South, or local area catechist-run schools in the country, was enhanced in the new teacher education planning. To this effect the status of the ‘Khalwa’ teacher, usually a Sheik, or a Holy Koran teacher was recognised at the central government level for the first time in the history modern education service in Sudan. Compared to previous times the Sheik now has the right to training, qualification and salary. His teaching curriculum was also improved to include basic modern education subjects such as maths and science. Owing to the rural and community character of the ‘Khalwa’ it was recommended that its products could later join the regular education system, “regardless of their age” (ibid, p 14). With this upgrading of the status of the ‘Khalwa’ from traditional to modern institution of learning, the plans to implement the new education language policy in the whole country appeared crowned with religious principles.

This rather detailed description of the religious aspect of the implementation of the Arabicisation policy is intended to show the educational orientation of the NIF regime and the impact of their ideology on the implementation of the language policy in Southern Sudan to which I now turn in the following section.

7.6.2. Imposition of Arabicisation on Southern Sudan

After the Southern Sudan experienced the regional language policy from 1975 until the coming to power of the NC government in 1989, they were bound to resist the re-imposition of Arabicisation by the ruling NC government. The implementation of Arabicisation policy produced all kinds of response among Sudanese. Concerned humanitarian organisations such as the Sudanese and foreign Churches, educational institutions such as universities, as well as groups and individuals, tried the civil approach to dialogue with the regime on the need for continuation of the existing Southern education language policy without any positive result. Southern Students at

various levels of education showed their protest in public demonstrations and used other means of resistance against the implementation of the policy in the early 1990s, but these attempts were suppressed with vigour and determination by the military junta then. The situation became even more desperate than ever when the English medium schools of war displaced Southerners which reopened in the North were ordered to implement the Arabicisation policy. It is reported that (see Daniel, 2000) the schools that did not comply were forcibly closed down and students dispersed. In 1991, as a result of the government implementation of the policy, many students who previously studied in the medium of English at the primary level, mainly from the South, had to drop out, as they were not competent enough in Arabic to continue their education.

The imposition of the Arabicisation policy in the Southern region, traditionally run mainly in English has continued unabated. There is confusion as to concrete outcome due to the apparently continuous resistance to the implementation of the policy in the South. The confusion is reminiscent of implementation of Arabicisation in the 1960s and 1970s where the policy was not making any headway, and yet was being sustained in one form or another. With the civil war fought mainly in the South, the schools were operating only in big government controlled towns as the remaining bulk of the region was under the liberation movement, the SPLM. There are reports to the effect that the language of instruction in schools in towns like Juba, the capital of Southern Sudan is still English with Arabic taught as a subject. While this may hold true for the non-government Church schools who might have reverted to English due to lack of Arabic learning materials and teachers, it is certain that this is not the case for government ones.

7.7. Evaluation of the Arabicisation Policy in Southern Sudan

7.7.1. The Impact of Arabicisation on the Southern Sudan Education System

Despite the growing Southern opposition to the language policy of the central government in the North, the Aboud and May governments persisted with the implementation of the policy under very difficult conditions such as lack of trained Arabic teachers, delay in translation and adaptation of some of the syllabus to suit conditions of Southern pupils, and so on. Despite the fact that it was far from being

systematically implemented with clear plans such as those laid out in the Rejaf language policy described at the beginning of this chapter, the implementation of the Arabicisation policy was reported to have achieved favourable changes for the central government in the Southern education system, hitherto based on the Rejaf framework. Citing a 1975 review of the changes in the Southern education system since the introduction of Arabic in the 1950s, Sandell (1982) observes that the central government language policy may not have achieved much, but had produced undesirable results. For example, the education system in the South came to be characterised by two or three patterns (described in Chapter 6 under the Southern Sudan 1975 language policy) linked to language of learning instead of one. This is one result of the previous two decades of Arabicisation policy. The report states that the 'national' pattern was constantly increasing and the regional one in corresponding decline. Moreover, as a result of the Aboud regime's policy, which resulted in scrapping of the village school education system, even as a transitional measure, the teaching of the vernaculars ceased in 1966.

As Sandell (1982) observes, the opening of Arabic pattern schools in Southern towns during the 1960s accelerated the Arabicisation programme such that by 1971 during the May regime, the first Arabic medium senior secondary school was opened at Malakal in the South. By 1972 southern primary six pupils sat the same exams as those in the north. 50% of the junior secondary or intermediate schools were running now in Arabic, and the other half in English. The report noted that the northern government authorities were persistent on their stance and unwilling to listen to the demands of Southerners for the right to use their vernacular languages and English in education. The report further claims that the insistence of the northern government on the use of Arabic as the sole official language in the South was in part encouraged by the limited progress they had achieved so far. Their attitude in this was compared to that of the British when they implemented the Southern Policy and with it the Rejaf language policy in the Southern Sudan in the 1930s and 1940s (see Sandell, 1982, p 80). This was in defiance of the Northern opinion which was against separation of Southern Sudan from the North.

Ahmed comments on this defiant stance and tactics of the central governments after independence, and at the same time alluded to the benefits of resistance to

Arabicisation over the independence period, much of which is attributed to the rebellious attitude of Southern Sudanese. The interview with Ahmed was in 2004, when peace talks between the NCP (the government then) and the SPLM (former rebel liberation movement now part of post-civil war Government of National Unity) had reached their peak and issues such as power and wealth sharing were on the agenda and became part of political talk among Sudanese.

I think the central government initially got away with the Arabicisation policy due to the fact that most Sudanese people live in remote rural areas out of touch with the government policy that affect them eventually if not immediately. Had it not been for the conflict that brought the problem to the attention of the public it would have gone on unnoticed for a long time (Ahmed, 5-4-04).

As he was clearly conscious about the spreading awareness among the Sudanese people regarding their cultural identity and their language and other rights, Ahmed continued:

But the problem would have come up eventually as a result of education and increase in the highly educated people from non-Arabic speaking regions (Ahmed, 5-4-04).

Despite this apparent success of the central government in implementing the Arabic policy in the South, the use of vernaculars continued during the same time in the bush schools in Southern Sudan, in the areas under the administration of South Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) and its military wing of freedom fighters the Anyanya. It was found out that the parts of the South outside the control of the government were carrying on with the traditional Southern Sudan early independence period curriculum in the medium of vernaculars and English at primary level of education. This was not good news for Arabicisation in the South, as this situation continued until the signing of the Addis Ababa peace Accord in 1972. It was enhanced by that agreement when in 1975 a Southern Regional Language Policy was formulated for the Region.

7.8. Implementation of the 1975 Regional Language Policy

Some attempts were made at a systematic implementation of the regional language policy in the Southern Sudan in the 1970s by the Regional Ministry of Education (RMOE), on the basis of plans laid down by the Regional Government. For example, four of the 1975 regional language policy guide lines which I refer to below (see Appendix 7 for details), emerged in the Regional Government resolution on language policy as procedures of language policy implementation. The four guidelines are:

“(f) The Regional Ministry of Education shall establish a college for languages with a department for local languages and shall seek the assistance of the SIL in the development of Southern local languages. (h) The Regional Government supports the establishment of the Regional Curriculum Development Centre. (i) The decision will be implemented gradually taking into account the present pattern of education which allows for both English and Arabic as medium of instruction, and (j) the language problem (will) be open for wide discussions” (Southern Region, Regional Ministry Of Education, 1975).

These points contain some genuine attempts at preparing the grounds for the take off of the Regional language policy, especially with regard to the development and use of the indigenous Southern languages.

The above mentioned Regional Government guidelines were intended to be developed into further language policy implementation plans and strategies by the Regional Ministry of Education and the related government departments such as the Information and Culture Ministry under which the mass media programmes were managed. Establishment of the Institute of Regional Languages (IRL) and the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) by the Regional Ministry of Education in Maridi, Southern Sudan, were some of the attempts at implementing guidelines (f) and (h) above of the Regional language policy. These were crucial plans especially in as far as teacher training and learning materials were concerned. The main task of the Institute was ‘The Development of Southern Languages’ for educational purposes. But the development and working of both institutions, the IRL and the CDC were interrupted by the outbreak of the civil war in 1983.

Meanwhile, under a co-operative agreement signed in 1976 between the Regional Government and the SIL as mentioned in Chapter 5 (see Appendix 8), the latter was to assist the Regional Ministry of Education by providing expert advice, carrying out linguistic research, helping in the training of vernacular teachers and IRL staff, and in the development and production of literacy reading materials for the Regional Ministry of Education. If we add to these implementation activities the guideline regarding gradual and community driven language policy implementation, we will find that the Regional Executive authorities had at least indicated the direction of the language policy implementation. The task in this section is to discuss and assess

actual implementation of the post-independence language policies, in the light of the plans and procedures above.

However, we need to find out whether the theoretical stipulations of the Regional Executive Council were met in practice by way of implementation of the language policy. The contextual educational factors especially the general conditions surrounding the implementation of the Regional language policy, call for closer analysis below. These include the issue of medium of instruction, the question of teacher training and production of books and learning materials. Cziko (1982) and Cowan (1983) discuss similar educational factors below in the section on the evaluation of the local languages literacy programme for Southern Sudan. But to these variables they add socioeconomic and linguistic factors, which provide a more complete picture in their evaluation of the Local Languages Literacy Project in Southern Sudan in the same period.

7.8.1. Competing Media of Instruction

By 1973, the implementation of the Arabicisation policy since the 1950s was showing progress, and appeared set to engulf the entire education system, in spite of the fact that the policy was implemented in situation of confusion in as far as medium of instruction was concerned. As Beninyo (1996) correctly evaluates it the policy was

“not based on properly laid down planned programme that was to be implemented gradually over a long period of time” (Beninyo, 1996:199).

Beninyo (ibid) identifies three factors that militated against language policy implementation in Southern Sudan.

- 1) Conditions that promoted political expedience rather than genuine contribution to the effective development of education in Southern Sudan for the benefit of the whole country,
- 2) Lack of financial grants for the implementation of the language policy, and
- 3) Imposition of Arabicisation on Southern Sudan.

Against the above background factors, many more serious implications of the central government policy for achieving the stated educational and socio-economic development goals, and for considerations on the status and role of indigenous

languages in Southern Sudan are discussed in the subsequent chapters and sections in the thesis. Meanwhile, the following opinions of Sudanese on the implementation of the regional language policy are worth pointing out.

The overriding Southern Sudanese position on the implementation of the 1975 language policy supports Beninyo's point of view. They are unanimous on the view that the 1975 language policy was not properly implemented. Rev Edward for example says:

This policy was not implemented properly. There was confusion as some former Arabic medium schools teaching in Arabic when they should have switched to English, according to the policy. The English medium schools of course continued in English. But the teaching of Arabic as a subject was not intensified. I expected proper teaching of Arabic as a subject but that did not happen. There was lack of incentive to learn Arabic in the South since English was the official language of the Southern Region (Rev Edward, 11-4-03).

Edward argues in a similar way to Andrew's but emphasising the lack of phasing out plan in the implementation of the policy. As a head teacher in one of the senior secondary schools in the South then, he offered to advise his colleagues in the regional Ministry of Education in Juba regarding the implementation of the 1975 language policy, but this was turned down. According to Rev Edward:

There were great difficulties with the use of English as the medium of instruction at secondary school. I asked for logical stages in the implementation leading to introduction of English replacing Arabic. This demand was rejected and I was told to implement the policy with immediate effect (Rev Edward, 11-4-03).

It was certain that there were to be some consequences of this approach to language policy implementation. And Edward recalled some of them:

The consequence of the introduction of English without planning was that many students, about 50% from Arabic pattern schools left for the North where Arabic remained the medium of instruction. This was a clear result of lack of planning the educational policy prior to its implementation (Rev Edward, 11-4-03).

One of the lasting consequences of Arabicisation policy in Southern Sudan, regardless of whether it has been properly implemented or not is the emergence of dual language of instruction phenomenon in the Southern education system. This system is based on the use of the three languages in education in Southern, namely vernacular, English, and Arabic, or whenever necessary a combination of these languages, as media of instruction. The problem with this system is that it apparently became elastic

whenever the need to meet the problem of language of instruction arose. To explain this weakness, the southern regional education system which used to be identified with the use of vernaculars and English was split into local pattern 'A' and 'B' as a result of Arabicisation while the 'national' pattern remained as it was in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Sandell, 1982, p 82; and Abu Bakr, 1975). In the early 1970s pattern 'A' used the vernacular as the medium with Arabic as a subject, and 'B' used the vernacular as a medium with English as a subject. The third or the 'national' pattern functioned in the medium of Arabic from first year primary school with English introduced from first year junior secondary school as a subject. To show the extent of the difficulties which faced the implementation of the 1975 language policy these patterns were not implemented uniformly in the Southern Sudan. Whereas the three systems mentioned above were a common feature in most schools in big towns in Equatoria province like Juba, the capital of Southern Sudan, by contrast, most schools in the other two Southern provinces, Bahr El Ghazal and Upper Nile, tended to be running according to the 'national' system. This differential use of languages as media of instruction which was itself a sign of failure of Arabicisation policy in Southern Sudan worked against the implementation of the 1975 Southern Region language policy.

One of the disadvantages of the Arabic and English patterned system of education in the South since the implementation of the Arabicisation policy was conflict among students. Edward offers an observation a language-based problem in schools:

Students from the two patterns behave in such a way that each side hated the language of the other group. The students in these groups could not see eye to eye both politically and socially. Southerners were being divided by means of language (Rev Edward, 11-4-03).

This is an illustration of the dark side of conflicting language policies; a reflection of language as a factor of division in a historically and politically divided society.

7.8.2. The Question of Teacher Training, Books and Learning Materials

Rev Kiriba, a senior Southern educationalist provide a useful summary of the problems involved in relation to teacher training and provision of materials during the 1970s. He compares teacher training in his time in the 1950s and the 1970s after the Addis Ababa peace agreement. Rev Kiriba:

When some of us returned from exile we found that schools were being run in Arabic in most places. Teachers were being trained in Arabic and the medium of instruction was Arabic in most schools. But with the return of a big population of Southern Sudanese from neighbouring countries, it was found necessary to allow the children returnees to learn in English, the language of instruction in their countries of refuge, mainly Uganda, Ethiopia, and few from Kenya... Employment of untrained teachers, which was unheard of in the past, became a common practice after the 1972. I can give myself as an example of being employed as an untrained teacher. But after having spent at least one and half years in the service, I was immediately sent for training. That was the process. The influx of returnees back to the Southern Sudan forced the ministry of education to employ untrained teachers. This resulted in poor teaching and performance. Teachers could not prepare and manage classrooms properly, there was then poor learning on the side of the children which led them to develop rude attitude toward school authorities. There was lack of discipline, lack of materials in English also contributed to poor teaching (Rev Kiriba, 1-4-03).

Several reasons can be given to explain the possible causes of the sudden drastic reduction in the number of Arabic teachers in the South around this time. Firstly, as Sandell (1982) notes most Sudanese teachers at the time preferred to migrate to the oil-rich Arab Gulf states to find better paying jobs. Secondly, the declaration of the new language policy for the Southern Region, perhaps perceived by Northerners to be replacing the central government policy might have encouraged the exodus of Northern Arabic teachers from the South. These were by no means the only reasons behind the problems of the implementation of the 1975 Southern Sudan language policy. There were background factors such as the unsettled issue of medium of instruction and lack of phasing out of the language policy implementation. It is possible that the latter factors worsened the situation of lack of teachers. In deed as Hollman (1981) and Sandell (ibid) assessment of the situation of trained teachers in the South then shows, teacher training lagged far behind the demand for teachers. The occasional statistics at the time illustrate clearly not only a small number of trained teachers but also lack of planning by the Regional Ministry of Education for the implementation of the regional language policy. Figures released for 1978-79 academic year show that of the existing 3,735 primary and junior schoolteachers 1,862 were trained; out of 705 junior schoolteachers only 242 were trained. By 1978/79 there were only 5 primary teacher-training institutes, but there were no training facilities for junior schoolteachers until 1980. Ibrahim's gives a more global view to explain the problem of trained teachers in Southern Sudan in the 1970s. Ibrahim observes that meeting the need of trained school teachers is a chronic problem in most of the post-colonial African countries. In Ibrahim's view which he bases on the situation in Kenya:

The quality of teachers and of teaching has deteriorated in Kenya due to several factors including conditions of service, remuneration, housing etc (Ibrahim, 4-4-03).

In the former autonomous Southern Sudan, the issue of lack of trained teachers had to be resolved in one way or another as we find out below.

The sudden dearth in Arabic teachers in Southern Sudan, but also lack of books and other learning materials made the situation of schools very critical. This prompted some members of the former Regional Parliament to call for the implementation of the language and culture provision in the 1972 Addis Accord. The policy that was adopted as a result of the agreement meant the existing educational system in relation to language of instruction at the secondary school level in particular had to be changed. Interestingly, it turned out on closer investigation that the number of qualified English medium Southern teachers at primary and junior secondary levels was smaller than was thought. It is said that this finding influenced decision of the executive branch of the Regional Government in its revision of the Regional Assembly resolution on pro-English language policy in order to accommodate the use of three languages: Arabic, English and the indigenous languages in the education system in the South, as a practical solution (see Chapter 6).

Until then the Region depended on Bakt er Ruda and Omdurman Intermediate Teacher Training Colleges in the North to train some of its teachers. As this was not now appropriate following the Addis Ababa Accord, the following plans and proposals were discussed as solution to the problem:

- 1) Plans to reopen Maridi Institute for the training of junior schoolteachers were complete and the Institute should be scheduled to admit its first batch of trainees in the 1981/82 academic year.
- 2) To follow up UNICEF plans on sponsoring a crash in-service training courses for 1,100 teachers.
- 3) Owing to the poor quality of training for teachers of English as a foreign or second language, the Regional Ministry proposed to the establishing of an English language-teaching institute similar to the one found in Khartoum in the North.
- 4) The opening of the University of Juba in 1977 with a College of Education and students majoring in English, though a long way in materialising, is expected to help

reduce the acute need for secondary school teachers. In the meantime, lack of trained teachers for all levels of education in the Southern Region and the issue of medium of instruction that went with it remained a real problem and a hindrance to the implementation of the regional educational language policy.

With regards to books and learning and teaching materials, there was apparently nothing positive as the trend surrounding the regional language policy implementation was that of lack of financial support from both the regional and central governments. The procedures followed in the implementation of the Rejaf language policy, in as far as financial support from the central government was concerned did not occur in South during the regional government. It was definitely not sufficient for the Regional Government to state in the policy that it “supports the establishment of the Regional Curriculum Development centre”, as one of the relevant materials production department (Southern Region, Regional Ministry Of Education, 1975). Definite central government sources of funding were crucial, but not provided.

The discussion of language policy implementation issues in the above paragraph indicate suggest that lack of financial support from the central government was above all, a direct cause of the above mentioned educational ills. Teachers’ conditions of service, lack of training, delays in payment of salaries, lack of housing and other social amenities, just to mention these few examples did not help. Difficulty in communication and transport in the vast region due to dirt roads, some impassable during the rainy season, hampered the work of agencies concerned with educational language policy implementation. As a result the few books that could be got could not be reached to schools on time. The acute scarcity of the above educational facilities meant sharing books and school buildings was the norm in the South then. As a class could register over one hundred pupils, there was no chance for a pupil to own a book. School sharing meant one school with two shifts, or two schools of different names and administration, using the same facility, one taking the morning and the other in the evening. All these did not help in the implementation of the language policy, which suggests the policy was not properly planned in the first place.

7.9. Implementation of the Local Languages Literacy Project

When the Addis Ababa peace agreement was ratified, in 1972 ending the first civil war in Sudan, a period of relative peace that followed in the region witnessed attempts at returning to the use of the vernacular languages, written in the original Roman alphabet adopted by the conference in Rejaf in 1928, as media instruction, particularly in the rural areas.

Strategies to implement the literacy project included the establishment of the Institute of Regional Languages (IRL) and Curriculum Development Centre (CDC) as implementation agencies. These two structures were products of the co-operative agreement signed in 1976 between the Regional Ministry of Education and the SIL. A Joint Bilingual Education Project which incorporated a Local Languages Literacy Project was the programme aimed at realising the vernacular component of the language policy implementation. The SIL, RMOE and IRL cooperated in the realisation of the project. SIL's main task was vernacular teacher training and production of primers and other forms of learning materials for the vernacular languages, while that of the CDC was to develop the curriculum, syllabus and learning materials for the Regional education system as a whole.

According to Hollman (*ibid*), by early 1980s the project had produced some materials in eight languages, but already the demand for materials was getting higher as the number of schools using the materials increased yearly. He points out as one of the deficiencies of the joint project was lack of plans to develop and produce materials for both the teaching of literacy and other subjects in the primary education curriculum, especially in the rural Southern Sudan, to fulfil the Joint Bilingual Education Project component of the SIL-Ministry cooperative agreement. Hollman (*ibid*) observes that the reason for seeking to correct this deficiency is obvious: teaching vernacular literacy skills alone limits the learning scope of the child. The ideal situation was for the development of the "total curriculum" in order that the rural child, like the urban one, benefits from general education in the vernacular beyond reading and writing skills (Hollman, 1981:13).

7.9.1. Curriculum Development Plan

Five factors including time, economics, and multiplicity of languages, teachers and curriculum development are identified as the root causes of the problems underlying the implementation of the Regional language policy including curriculum and materials development (Hollman, 1981; Cowan, 1983):

1) The aftermath of the civil war explain the time factor and the resultant destruction of the education system in the South, particularly in the rural areas. Destruction refers here to loss of books, teaching and learning materials, breakdown of school buildings, and cessation in the training of new teachers. In short decay in the whole education infrastructure in the region.

2) Reconstruction in the field of education is related to the economic factors. Hollman (ibid), and Beninyo (1996), among others found out that curriculum development for rural schools was not accorded the funding priority it deserved.

3) The language factor relates to the language situation in the country as whole. As a multilingual region in a heterogeneous country Southern Sudan is faced with use of Arabic, English and indigenous languages. The question of status in all the three languages, and the fact that the position and status of Arabic as an official national language and English as a principal language in Southern Sudan was reinforced since independence by legislation and other government policies exacerbated the language factor. At the same time the status of the indigenous languages was on the decline throughout this period. Hollman (ibid) sums the competing roles of languages in the Southern Sudan during the Regional government:

“There are political pressures for the extension of the use of Arabic, the retention of the role of English and the development of the use of vernacular languages” (Hollman, 1981:15).

The language factor is at the centre of education development in Southern Sudan and it determines the success of language policy implementation.

d) The teacher factor depicted a picture of underdevelopment in teacher training. The rural primary teachers had very low general education and very little teacher training, considering that some of them were products of the historically under-funded missionary education system before independence. By 1975 when the regional language policy was implemented it was found that apart from the existing older teachers, no new younger ones were trained to teach in the vernacular languages.

There seemed to be a generation gap in vernacular teacher training between the old and the young. A similar gap is explained in terms of rural-urban difference in general teacher competence as well as in social development.

The curriculum development problem originated from the promotion of a 'national' curriculum based on Arabic language and on the Northern social and cultural contexts. As a result there was (there still is) resistance in the South to the 'national' curriculum and language materials based on Northern Sudan cultural environment. The South seized the opportunity accorded it by the 1975 language policy to develop its own language and other curricula that reflect local social and cultural realities. By 1981 the challenge was not only to carry on with the development of the language curriculum beyond that of basic literacy, but also to make the development of curriculum for bilingual education a priority.

7.9.2. Some Solutions to Language Policy Implementation Problems

Hollman (1981) suggests the following as possible solutions to the problems cited above which hinder progress in the implementation of the regional language policy.

- 1) To tackle the problems caused by the war situation Hollman suggests the writing and testing learning of learning materials in the vernacular languages, with priority given to planning so that a complete language curriculum is developed rather than limiting such development to literacy materials only.
- 2) Regarding solutions to the economic factor he suggests the development of agriculture, which is the mainstay of rural economy. This means the education of the rural citizens should not be regarded as a low priority in the South. On the contrary, it should be allocated some of the scarce resources for development as a strategy aimed at long-term solutions.
- 3) To combat the language factor, Hollman suggests according a role to indigenous languages in a language policy, as this offers the best solution to the language problem in the Southern Sudan and Sudan as whole. Such a multilingual solution is politically more acceptable than the Arabic only or English only solutions often advanced by the Northern and Southern ruling elites respectively.
- 4) The development of vernacular curriculum and training of vernacular teachers required close coordination and cooperation between the IRL, CDC and teacher training institutes is essential to resolve the teacher training problem. The old teachers

needed to be retrained to improve their general educational and linguistic competence. The old teacher training institutions needed to be re-constituted and new ones opened specifically to train a new generation of primary teachers on new basis. The new training strategy should enable the teachers to serve the needs of the vernacular languages in a much better way than the Vernacular Teacher Training Centres (VTTCs) did during the colonial period.

Finally, it is worth mentioning Hollman's (ibid) observation that while IRL accepted the responsibility of developing the literacy aspect of the curriculum it lacked the knowledge and experience to develop the general curriculum. On the other hand, the CDC was created for the purpose of developing the complete curriculum for the educational system in the whole region, but it lacked expertise in vernacular literacy.

7.10. Evaluation of the Regional Language Policy Implementation

One of the limitations of this research, as I explained in Chapter 1, is that I was unable to obtain much of the information I needed from the country due to the civil war situation. Nevertheless, I was able to obtain some useful information relating to the implementation of the Southern Regional language policy from documents sent from Sudan and those I could find outside the country. They include firsthand information about observations of people who were in position of authority in Southern Sudan Hollman (1981), Sandell (1982) and Mahmud (1983), evidence from evaluation studies on the local languages literacy project Cziko (1982) and Cowan (1983), in addition to Beninyo's (1996) findings, as well as views of Sudanese participants in the interviews for this study. These data and findings provide sufficient materials for evaluation of the language policy.

Sandell (1982) identified:

- 1) Lack of gradual implementation of the educational language policy,
- 2) Non-availability of the necessary human and material resources including teachers, books, and relevant syllabuses and materials which was causing disturbing unrest in schools in the Region, and
- 3) Failure to unite the education system under the 1975 Southern Regional language policy due to the problem of medium of instruction inherited from the central

government Arabisation policy, as some of the problems relating to the implementation of the regional language policy.

Beninyo (1996) cites:

- 1) Absence of research on language situation as a prelude to policy planning and implementation.
- 2) Ambiguity of the Southern Regional language policy, as the formulation of this policy allowed room for misinterpretation of the policy and confusion in the educational system as pointed out in Chapter 6.
- 3) The role of political factors explained in terms of division among Southern politicians on matters of policy and lack of will on the side of the central government to support financially the implementation of the regional language policy.

The failure of the authorities to resolve the problems catalogued above and most importantly the question of language of instruction as an educationally unifying factor in the Southern education system contributed to the difficulties in the implementation of regional language policy. This was one of the undesirable outcomes of Arabisation policy. Whereas the Regional language policy, in respect to the use of Arabic as a medium of instruction was being closely followed in schools in Upper Nile and Bahr El Ghazal provinces schools in Equatoria, the southern most provinces in the Southern Region, were not following the stated Regional educational language policy. As the chairman of a Language Discussion Group in a Curriculum Workshop of the Ministry of Services in Equatoria Region clearly put it: “language policy made for the Southern Region had never been followed in most parts of Equatoria” (Curriculum Workshop, 1985: 18), and this was due to lack of Arabic teachers, among other factors. As long as it was not tackled, this problem appeared to reinforce active resistance to the Khartoum policy. Instead English was used exclusively as a medium of instruction throughout primary and junior schools. In fact, at the time, some private schools in Juba used English as a medium of instruction from primary one, which was in violation of the stated Southern Regional language policy.

7.10.1. Evaluation of the Local Languages Literacy Project

As mentioned above, the Local Languages Literacy Project was the main programme in the cooperative agreement between the Regional Ministry of Education and SIL. As

this project was part and parcel of the regional language policy implementation, it was affected by the language policy implementation conditions obtaining in Southern Sudan then. Cziko (1982) and Cowan (1983) who carried out evaluation studies on the Literacy Project explained the problem in terms of environmental factors, literacy resources and attitudes of pupils and parents toward the literacy project. On the first factors these scholars stressed the size or vastness of Southern Sudan. While subsistence agriculture is linked to poverty which affected the Literacy Project and the mainstream education service in terms of enrolment, attendance, and teacher conditions of service, vastness of territory is linked to communication and transport difficulties due to dirt roads and vast swamps and rivers which become impassable during the rainy season. The relation of the last point to education entailed difficulties in transporting the few materials and books there were to their destinations. According to these authors, these mainly physical and structural factors negatively affected the Literacy Project in different ways.

As far as literacy resources were concerned, absence of reading materials other than the primers produced for the project constituted an important contextual factor hindered progress in the attainment of literacy in indigenous languages among rural Southern children. This factor made the Literacy Project and its evaluation of particular interest to observers of the situation. This state of affairs which was apparently promoting illiteracy in rural Southern Sudan was linked to the Arabicisation policy which ended the village school system and with it the formal use of local languages in the 1960s. Cziko (ibid) confirmed this personal observation in his study of rural Southern Sudan when he found that

“there appears to be virtually no contact with the printed word outside school and no use of reading by anyone other than the teacher, government chief and police” (Cziko, 1982: 295).

To confirm the deteriorating state of the indigenous languages in rural Southern Sudan, what I content to be a direct result of Arabicisation policy which thrives on discouraging the village school system which uses local languages, Cziko adds that any contact with literacy was likely to be in Arabic or English and not in the indigenous languages.

On account of the factors discussed earlier, Cziko (ibid) and Cowan (ibid) put more emphasis on the literacy situation in Southern Sudan and how it contrasts with that in other similar areas in the world. According to Cowan

“children in rural Southern Sudan do not see reading and writing as an integral and meaningful part of their environment” (Cowan, 1983: 78).

This view gives a different meaning to the project, turning it into an

“ultimate test case for literacy whose failure should have important implications for third world countries, where the promotion of reading and writing skills is seen as the key to development” (ibid).

The issue of learning materials was a decisive factor in the success of the Literacy Project. But in order to provide a better understanding of the project as a basis for suggesting changes and to improve on its positive consequences, both Cowan and Cziko rounded up their evaluations by describing the attitudes of pupils and parents towards the Literacy Project.

Cziko and Cowan, however, reported interesting findings regarding the human factor in the assessment of the Local Languages Literacy Project. To begin with, most pupils were positive in their response to the questions on reasons for attending school and for learning to read. They cited ‘employment’ as the reason for attending school. And for acquiring literacy skills their motives include: ‘to learn to read’, ‘to be knowledgeable’, as well as ‘to obtain wealth’ and ‘status’ or to become ‘a big man’. Secondly, most adults thought schooling and literacy were desirable and would lead to a solution to the country’s problems, although they were reportedly rather hostile to use of Arabic as a medium of instruction because they felt it was turning schools into centres for Arabisation and breakdown of indigenous customs, traditions and relationships in respect to children and their communities. Thirdly, the implementation of the project under severe conditions catalogued above meant, it was faced with, among other things: untrained teachers, frequent school strikes, high student and teacher absenteeism, overcrowded classes, poor facilities and when you add to these lack of materials and poor teaching methods, you obtain a clear picture of the outcomes of the project. As the situation has got worse since this report was

published in 1982, the lessons to be learned from it for future language policy formulation and implementation in Southern Sudan are daunting.

Despite these apparently negative factors and variables which surrounded the literacy project, and although the number of pupils affected was small, overall impact evaluation indicated some positive aspects of the project. Cziko and Cowan found that the limited literacy materials available, teacher training and teacher manuals provided by the project apparently improved the instruction received by the pupils. This conclusion was inferred from the performance of the project teachers who indicated that they were well prepared for the lessons.

7.11. Implementation of the SPLM Educational Language Policy

History of Southern Sudan resistance to Sudan's central government language policies seems to repeat itself. After five decades of implementation of the Arabicisation policy (roughly from 1949-2005) under difficult political and socio-economic conditions as a result of conflict and civil war, the Sudan peace agreement (CPA) which contains provisions on language policy, appears likely to end the vicious cycle of language policy implementation. The SPLM efforts to implement its educational language policy seem to be captured in the following detailed comments from Kobi, one of the SPLM education policy makers. He cited three areas of language policy implementation that were a source of SPLM language policy implementation, namely the question of learning materials including the most basic such as text books, lack of trained teachers and ways and means of training teachers in the war situation. In Kobi's own words:

Lack of materials or books in the written group languages to qualify them as part of the curriculum or syllabus is a problem. There is a need for materials to be developed for the languages that already have written script. Those with no written script require working on before materials are developed in them. Lack of trained teachers for local languages is another problem. And then there is the problem of how teacher training is going to be carried out to ensure quality of teachers for both lower and upper primary levels (Kobi, 27-3-03).

Kobi seems to be concerned here about primary education policy as he speaks about learning materials and books in local languages. Although the problems Kobi has identified could be taken as acceptable in a war situation, they confirm the factors hindering language policy implementation in Southern Sudan whether after or during

war. This fact alone I think needs to be put into consideration in any future language policy formulation and implementation.

Based on Kobi's comments, it is not hard to imagine that the SPLM implemented its language policy under extremely difficult conditions of war, but what did they do to cope with the problems is my concern here. In spite of severe lack of teachers, curriculum, books and materials, among other problems, a semblance of education system was functioning in the SPLM administered areas in Southern Sudan, Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile areas. Efforts to develop new curriculum in the territories under the SPLM started in 1992 (NSEA, 2002), with funding from the New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) and UNICEF, among other local and international Non-governmental organisations (NGOs). By 1994 these NGOs sponsored more activities in the SPLM administered territory aimed at developing educational curricula and policies than the SPLM itself. The establishment of governing and civil society structures following the first SPLM National Convention in 1994 encouraged the NGOs to support the development of more structures. For example, with financial assistance from UNICEF, NSCC and other NGOs, a Curriculum Steering Committee was formed as a department of the Secretariat of Education. This became an important implementation body for the movement's educational language policy.

The SPLM educational language policy that emerged seems less complex in structure compared to the model formulated in the former Southern region (in Chapter 6). The roles assigned to the languages, whether as media of instruction or taught as subjects do not overlap. The language syllabuses of the SPLM education system are found in Appendix 9. The syllabuses indicate the kind of educational language policy the movement was advocating until 2005 when the CPA was ratified. However, the implementation of the language component of the SPLM education policy in the conditions of war was extremely difficult, and the include those mentioned by Kobi above. The difference between the situation in the movement and the other areas was that the needs were more extremely felt in the liberated areas than in the other areas. Three documents provide some useful information on language policy implementation in the SPLM schools. One is a report of a Symposium on Education organised in 2001 by the SPLM Secretariat of Education. The Symposium discussed strategies to promote the education process in the SPLM areas. On teacher education and training,

for example, the Symposium discussed Distance Teacher Education as a strategy that was deemed appropriate in the SPLM areas, where the war situation made it difficult to run conventional teacher training. However, distance teacher education has advantages, for example studying on the job, and disadvantages such as logistical difficulties for teachers.

The second, A School Baseline Assessment (SBA) report on the current state of education and schools in the SPLM liberated areas in Southern Sudan, carried out jointly by UNICEF and Africa Educational Trust (AET) in 2002, offers some concrete indicators as to the problems facing the provision of education in Southern Sudan in general and in the SPLM administered areas in particular. In many respects, as expected, the SBA resembles the Local Languages Literacy Project discussed in the previous section in this chapter. The infrastructural and material aspects of the SBA report, for example, show that education facilities such as school buildings, learning facilities and materials are rare or non-existent in most areas. Regarding learning materials, many schools still use the old or outdated materials of the 1950s and the 1960s, about 54% of schools use the newly written syllabus, and 25% the Kenyan syllabus. As a result of the many problems which the survey documented and many of which were already discussed above in relation to the implementation of the 1975 Southern Region language policy, the teachers have to improvise. Although the SBA is not strictly on educational language policy, the general assessment of the learning situation as it relates to books and learning materials, and to teacher training has implications for language policy implementation in the SPLM administered areas.

The information above provides some evidence about the learning conditions in the SPLM administered areas. The situation of textbooks and learning materials, for all school subjects including languages, and teachers and their conditions of service is made apparent. What is not given attention in the analyses of post-independence language policy implementation, however, is the case of vernacular languages, an important aspect of language policy implementation in Southern Sudan.

7.12. Conclusion

Southern Sudan witnessed the implementation of its first official language policy in education after Rejal Language Conference in 1928. This was fairly early in the

African context, yet today there is very little if any progress made in establishing a viable language policy through planned implementation, after the confusion which paradoxically came with independence. As the discussions above indicate, Southern Sudan has witnessed much failure than success in language policy implementation, mainly as a result of lack of clearly planned and accommodative educational language policy. Rather, poor implementation of the central governments in Khartoum through imposing Arabicisation in the South characterised the post-independence period. This may be because Sudan's post-independence language policy makers ignored the realities in the language policy environment, some of which appeared as problems—lack of trained teachers, books, etc in the evaluation discussion above.

Despite its historical basis and apparently sweeping success in Northern Sudan, there was no clear progress in the Arabicisation policy itself in Southern Sudan. Rather, the discussions in Chapter 7 showed us that the good progress made in the implementation of English medium education in Southern Sudan was retarded instead of building on it. Attempts to by Southern Sudan to accommodate the Arabicisation policy through instituting the 1975 regional language policy did not succeed because, as we show in Chapter 6 the policy formulated was not viable and sustainable, and in Chapter 7 it could not be implemented successfully due to several competing forces or parties vying for a place in the policy as Hollman (1981) Sandell (1982) and Beninyo (1996) let us know in the discussions above. There were not strong legal, economic and community backing of the policy. The post-civil war situation which produced a complex of militating factors against the implementation of the former Southern Regional language policy, as Czeko (1982) and Cowan (1983) showed us in relation to attempts at promoting literacy in rural Southern Sudan, were not helpful either.

Problems of language policy implementation such as the question of teachers, books, infrastructure, etc, which are linked to absence of planned language policy in Sudan after independence also explain directly the implications of Sudan's post-independence Arabicisation policy on the areas of social and human development such as language use in communication, and as an educational, identity and development resource, among other values. Chapter 8 will tackle this aspect of the thesis. In the light of the discussions in Chapter 7, there seems to be urgent need for an alternative language policy in education after 50 years of lack of agreement

between Southern Sudan and the central government in the North of the country. Before I embark on this in the concluding Chapter 9, let us first examine the implications of the Arabicisation policy on various areas of social and human development in Southern Sudan in particular.

Chapter 8

Examining the Implications of the Arabicisation Policy for Indigenous Sudanese Languages from Various Perspectives

8.1. Introduction

In Chapter 8 I am examining the implications of the Arabicisation policy for the status, role and functions of indigenous Sudanese languages in South Sudan in particular, from a variety of contemporary or post-colonial sociolinguistic perspectives, notably linguisticism and linguistic imperialism, which tend to breed language based hegemony and ideology. In addition to the socio-political and historical-structural basis of the study, the discussion takes into account the relationships between post-independence educational language policy and pertinent social phenomena. These include multilingualism as a common pattern of language use, and the complex but inclusive themes of language as a social resource, a symbol of identity, a factor in exclusion or empowerment, and a factor in governance, national integration and socio-economic development. The discussion will be based on the findings from interviews with Sudanese participants on themes related to the above sociolinguistic dimensions or categories. Sources of current and pertinent literature on sociolinguistic perspectives, such as those that address the role of power and ideology in shaping post-colonial language policies in developing countries will be used to illustrate the discussion. The basic question is to find out the extent to which the formulation of post-independence language policy considered these features. The questions below are also pertinent:

- What are the implications of the central government's post-independence Arabicisation policy for the status, role and function of the indigenous Sudanese languages in Southern Sudan?
- To what extent has the policy affected the future development of indigenous languages as media of education and of socio-economic, political and cultural development in Southern Sudan?

8.2. Implications for Language Use Patterns of Sudanese Speakers of Various Languages.

Language use patterns of Sudanese in general and Southern Sudanese in particular are described and explained in this section in the light of the language situation discussed in Chapter 2, which is essentially multilingual. As we have seen in Chapter 5, Arabic is the only language, among more than a hundred others, which has been accorded both 'national' and 'official' status by the central government since independence, despite the multilingual character of the country. The processes of legitimating and institutionalising the status of Arabic as the sole official language of Sudan with the aim of achieving the goal of one nation identifying with one language were described in Chapter 5 through 6. The conclusions to those discussions indicate clearly the inequality in political power between the central government and the periphery, which includes Southern Sudan.

This section examines the extent of the implications of Arabicisation on the language use of Southern Sudanese in particular. I am attempting to do this by analysing the language use patterns of Sudanese participants in the interviews, to find out the extent of the influence of the Arabicisation policy on the indigenous languages and cultures in the nearly fifty years of the post-independence period since 1956. The extent of this influence on the status of the indigenous languages and cultures should inform future language in education planning.

Understanding communication process in multilingual societies include being aware about domains of language use, making choices among codes or languages, giving languages functional roles according to the demands of a diglossic situation, and being conscious of the social factors that determine language use. As Holmes (2001) suggests, these elements are employed by sociolinguists to explain "why we speak differently in different social contexts" (Holmes, 2001:1). We also use these elements as means of "identifying the social functions of language and the ways it is used to convey social meaning" (ibid). Sociolinguists also distinguish three major functions of language in a multilingual society, namely for in-group or inter-ethnic communication, for communication with members of outer groups, and for specialised or formal use in areas such as education, administration, religion, (see

Mansour, 1993). The interview extracts given below are examined for views of participants on questions pertaining to language use in the interview guide (see Appendix 3) and language behaviour of Sudanese. The questions include languages the participants use at home, in the wider community, at work, and also on the languages spoken by their children at home among themselves, and out side the home with their friends and school mates.

8.3. Language Use Patterns of Northern Sudanese

The ruling Northern elite in Sudan have almost succeeded in letting us believe that monolingualism and linguistic homogeneity characterise Northern Sudan, and that this model of cultural and religious development, based on Arabic and Islamic civilisation should be spread in the Southern Sudan and beyond in sub-Saharan Africa. However, the findings of this research, along with several other contemporary Sudanese linguistic and socio-political and cultural studies indicate that this claim is far from true. This is especially so given the visible linguistic, cultural and racial realities of the Northern Sudanese society despite their suppression by the Arabization process. Even the definition and explanation of monolingualism in Chapter 2 does not bear out the claim of monolingual realities in the North. The general Northern Sudanese view, acknowledged by Sudanese scholars such Mahmud (1983) and Hindi (2000) who focus their studies on language shift from indigenous languages to Arabic, emphasise the rather erroneous notion that Northern Sudan is already a linguistically homogenous society because it is monolingual in Arabic and Islamic culture. Although socio-political forces tend to accord them disproportionate power compared to Southern Sudan, many other educated people from the North, as this interview data shows, do not take this position.

The following extracts from two sets of interviews with Northern Sudanese provide some information about language use patterns continuum from monolingual to bi- and even multilingual. It also gives clues which refute the claim to monolingual status by Northern Sudan elite and the central government. The three extracts below illustrate the mainstream Northern Sudanese language use pattern in home/family, community and work domains.

8.3.1. Language Use Pattern of Northern Monolinguals

The two extracts on language use of Northern Sudanese describes more or less the language use pattern of the communities in that part of Sudan. Being outside the country might have added something to the normal pattern at home in Northern Sudan.

Abdu: I have to speak Arabic at home and among the Sudanese community because I am Sudanese Muslim. My children should also learn to speak well in Arabic because of identity as Sudanese Muslims. As a teacher of Arabic it will be scandal for me if people find out that my children don't speak Arabic. I spoke a dialect of Arabic, which is spoken by my tribe the Jawama'a in central Kordufan, Western Sudan, when I was a child. It is different from the Khartoum colloquial or Omdurman dialect. When I went to school the teachers had a policy not to allow the use of this local dialect. It was discouraged by those who came from Khartoum as teachers, policemen, administrators and traders. They even changed local people's names by replacing indigenous names with Arabic ones (Abdu, 6-3-04).

Ahmed's language use does not differ much from Abdu's:

Ahmed: Although I acquired a local Shagiya dialect of Arabic as my mother tongue, I lost it at childhood when I started school, and as a result of moving and growing up in central Sudan. I later found it strange speaking that dialect. Soon my competence in that dialect dropped and I lost it. I spoke Arabic (Sudanese colloquial) at home in Sudan with members of my family. Now in the UK we speak Arabic with my wife most of the time, and English sometimes, especially when we give certain instructions or explain certain things to the children. We try to speak in Arabic to our children even though they often tend to answer in English. Both Arabic and English are my work languages (Ahmed, 5-4-04).

These interview extracts indicate that these Northern Sudanese individuals usually operated under a monolingual pattern of communication in the home domain, or are coerced to do so particularly when they are in Sudan. The home domain in the Northern Sudan setting is however within at least a bilingual if not a multilingual wider society (Jernudd, 1979). The extracts also show that it is not until their teenage years that those who go to school are introduced, for the first time, to foreign languages at junior and senior secondary schools. As the extracts indicate, those youngsters are not normally only not introduced to the indigenous Sudanese languages, but also discouraged from them, as a matter of central government policy Rahal (2002); and wa Thiong'o (1986). From 1965 however, which marks the beginning of the comprehensive implementation of Arabicisation policy, Arabic had progressively become the only medium of instruction at all levels of education from primary to university level. For the Arabic-speaking Northern Sudanese, therefore, a foreign language, usually English, is learned for the first time only at school, and is

for most of them the only other language taught. This is by virtue of English position as an ex-colonial language. But it must be said here that this behaviour of the educated individuals and groups of Arabised Northern Sudanese communities, does not represent the whole of Northern Sudanese society. It is obvious from the following second set of extracts that the rest of the largely now Arabic-speaking communities in the geographical Northern Sudan with big indigenous African populations have a different pattern of language use, as the analysis below shows.

The language use of Northern Sudanese from the non-marginalised areas can be represented by the following pattern:

Figure 6: Showing type 1 language use patterns of Northern Sudanese of Arab origin. Source: Holmes, 2001, p 23.

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8.3.2. Language Use Patterns of Northern Indigenous Speakers

As Northern Sudan is not culturally and ethnically monolithic, not surprisingly the interviews with Northern Sudanese of various ethnic backgrounds yielded claims of a variety of language use patterns, and at the same time evidence of discrimination by the Arab and Arabised people against the African Sudanese. The following examples illustrate the reported patterns of language use among the African communities in the Northern Sudan.

The Nuba Mountain region in central Sudan, like the other Northern Sudan territories with indigenous African populations, has undergone a measure of Arabicisation, Islamisation and even assimilation into the Arab culture as result of Arabisation, a social and cultural assimilation process. It is true that this order of things has

characterised the Nuba Mountains and the adjacent Southern Blue Nile region since the days of the Funj and Taqali Islamic Sultanates in the 16th century (Hasan, 2002), but more officially the phenomenon became widely known in the last 50 years since Sudan's independence in 1956. However, the political situation changed in 1983 when the now ending war of liberation started, and these regions joined the South to struggle against the policies of central government in Khartoum that have consistently tended to marginalise them, or the indigenous African Sudanese in general. The two interview extracts below of participants from Nuba area, Northern Sudan, on their language use patterns reveal a great deal about what is happening inside the region. The story of one of the Nuba leaders in the SPLM/A, late Yousif Kuwa Meki (see Rahal, 2002) may not have a space here. However, the little that can be captured about the political, cultural and linguistic orientation of the Nuba people, amongst many other marginalised peoples in the as a result of the North-South civil war can only be obtained from information from participants in this study's interviews. Korseed described language use in his household.

Korseed: We speak our mother tongue and Arabic at home. Mother tongues and Arabic are spoken by different communities in the Nuba Mountains region. But Arabic is the main language spoken in the wider community. Mother tongues are spoken in specific communities. The children speak their mother tongue and Arabic as well, with friends. But they use English in the school. The Arabic our children speak is local Arabic called Juba Arabic in Southern Sudan. My children are getting their education in Narus, Southern Sudan, where there is a Catholic centre with a well established education system (primary level) in the liberated areas under SPLM/A. I use English as the main language for work in the office. English is the official language of 'New Sudan'. I also use Arabic at work when it is involving visitors and people who do not speak English (Korseed, 29-4-03).

Adam makes a similar claim:

Adam: I speak a little of my mother tongue (Adam later confessed that he had passive understanding of his mother tongue). I am a victim actually, because my father prevented me from learning my mother tongue for the simple reason that I was going to fail in the school. Arabic was the school language and my father wanted me to master it in order to pass the exams. I speak Arabic at home and outside the home in the community. I remember how it has been imposed. I learned Arabic very early at childhood as my father was a petty trader in a small town away from our original home. We lived among Arabic speakers (Adam, 29-4-03).

Regarding the language he uses at work, Adam has similar pattern as Korseed above since both are in the SPLM/A system.

I use English at work place in the SPLM administered areas in the Nuba region. We also use Arabic, when administration involves chiefs and traditional community leaders, and low ranking civil administrators, although English is the official language of the SPLM. It is a situation where two languages are needed. My children speak Arabic at home and practise English at school with

friends. They are studying in the medium of English. There are plans to introduce them to mother tongue 'Aturu' next year. In the school English is imposed as the language of communication. The teachers and parents want the children to learn as much English as they can in order to guide this generation and make them competent and fluent in English, since the region is turning to English as the official language together with the rest of the 'New Sudan'⁴ regions (Adam, 29-4-03).

The description in the examples above, of the language use of the Nuba people who are part of geographical Northern Sudan, but the majority of whom maintain and use indigenous African languages, can be represented by the pattern below:

Figure 7: Showing type 2 domains of language use of Northern Sudanese of African origin. Source: Holmes, 2001, p 23.



8.3.3. Explanation of the Northern Sudanese Language Use Patterns

The explanation of the language use patterns of the participants from the Northern Sudan shows that the society there is far from being entirely monolingual, contrary to what is perceived as normal practice. Whereas monolingual tendency clearly characterises the Arab and Arabised societies in the North (Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992), bilingualism exists among the indigenous African communities, such as the Nuba and Blue Nile regions which are geographically part of Northern Sudan.

Findings of a sociolinguistic study of migrants from Southern and Western Sudan living in squatter camps in Khartoum by Miller and Abu-Manga (1992) support my analysis of the Northern Sudanese language use patterns in this study, in as far as the language use patterns of Arab and Arabised Northerners is concerned. These researchers found that "monolingualism characterises the Arabs, and to a lesser extent

⁴ According to the SPLM National Convention held in Southern Sudan in 1994 the concept of New Sudan temporarily includes three regions in the Southern Sudan, namely Upper Nile, Equatoria and Bahr El-Ghazal, and two in the North, The Nuba Mountains and Southern Blue Nile.

the Arabic mother tongue speakers” in their study (Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992:71). This finding on the attitude of Arabs and Arabised people in Northern Sudan is consistent with findings in earlier studies, for example, Jernudd (1979). In the Miller and Abu-Manga (ibid) study, 6 out of 16 monolingual Arabised speakers do not even have a passive knowledge of their ethnic vernacular languages (Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992:72). These authors explain this language use behaviour in terms of need. According to them

“The Arabs and Arabic speakers are generally not pressed by any communicational necessity to learn any other vernacular, their mother tongue itself being the *lingua franca* for the entire country” (Miller and Abu-Manga, op. cit. p 71).

While the findings of Miller and ABu-Manga (1992) reveal the behaviour of the powerful group or people in the centre, it is correct to posit that the Northern type of monolingualism is limited to the ethnic Arabs and the Arabised Sudanese or those indigenous African who have lost their cultural heritage and with it their languages. In other words they have shifted to Arabic which became their mother as a result of many years of Arabisation process. It is therefore a kind of societal rather than individual monolingualism. I will argue that a similar situation obtains in Southern Sudan which is basically a rural communities. Here you find complete rural ethno-linguistic communities operating genuinely and truly in a single language, even near multilingual major towns and within wider multilingual region. Viewed from my position in the discussion, both the extensive Northern Arabic-speaking communities and the relatively limited monolingual communities seem to be islands in the global sea of the wider Sudanese societal multilingualism.

Abdu’s and Ahmed’s experiences stated above, and indeed the experience of most the other participants show that there is apparently a tacit policy, by the central government agents widely employed, particularly in schools, to discourage the use of local Arabic varieties and indigenous languages and cultures. These data reveal how the Arabicisation policy has been implemented over the years before and after independence. To conclude this section it is worth reminding ourselves here that the phenomenon of enforcing monolingual policy by central governments is not restricted to Sudan, it is a characteristic of legacy of colonialism in the developing countries in Africa. However, where such a policy is cause of conflicts and retardation in social,

cultural and economic welfare and development of society, ways must be found to resolve the problem. This study is an attempt at finding a more viable language policy in education as a contribution to the resolution of some of the above mentioned language-related problems.

8. 4. Language Use Patterns of Southern Sudanese

Unlike their Northern compatriots, Southern Sudanese participants show multiple language repertoires. Most of them at the time of interview claimed to speak at least two languages, but speaking three languages seems to be common. I have observed that as part of their response to the question on language use patterns most participants from Southern Sudan seem to take it for granted that a person speaks a number of languages in a community or at home. As the interview data below indicates, some of them tried to explain their multilingualism by pointing out specific individual language use in different domains even before I probed them further during the interviews. In fact, as we will find out in this discussion, most Southern intellectuals, including some participants in these interviews who are language aware, already speak clearly about the need for a three-language formula as a solution to the language problem in education and development in the region. The languages usually include their mother tongue, a lingua franca (often local Arabic variety), and the official language, English. This suggested pattern of language use has implications for arguing possible solutions to the language issues in education in this study through language policy and planning activities.

There is a need to look at the language use patterns of participants in the light of contradiction or conflict. As some of the extracts below will show, some participants who are parents and heads of households, perhaps driven by emotions related to fear of losing their indigenous languages, reveal how they urged the use of mother tongues at the expense of lingua francas, when in fact both are in their own and their children's language use repertoires and seem to be competing. In attempting to think in this way they are going against sociolinguistic principles to which their children are responding. The following language use statements are some typical examples of views on language use patterns in the interviews, and they illustrate key findings.

Losu describes the language use pattern in his family:

Three languages are commonly used in my household, namely, my mother tongue Pajulu or Bari, Juba Arabic and Kiswahili. Kiswahili has taken over as the main language of day-to-day communication in my house because our children tend to speak it more than any other language. My wife is a non-Bari-speaker so we mostly communicate in Juba Arabic. Our children haven't learned either the language of their mother or father that explains their preference for using Kiswahili at home as well as out side the house with their friends and school mates. Some of my friends and neighbours find it very strange that we are Sudanese and we communicate in Kiswahili at home and out side. As a teacher, my work language is in English (Losu, 31-3-03).

Lomude describes language use in his household thus:

We speak two languages in my family, Bari or Pajulu my mother tongues and Juba Arabic. Juba Arabic is spoken more frequently than the former and tends to supersede it, although I make sure that when we are by ourselves, I make sure I speak to the children as much as possible in Bari dialect (Lomude, 25-3-03).

While English is spoken among the educated groups, the force of *Juba Arabic*, which is increasingly becoming a major lingua franca in Southern Sudan covering all sectors of society, but particularly among the younger generation, is now felt across the society. Lomude's comment illustrates this trend. A contrasting situation obtains in the rural areas, however, which means the area of Juba Arabic operation is currently limited to urban areas or towns in Southern Sudan. Lomude reveals this clearly as he carried on informing me that:

As far as my observation informs me the people in my home area in the South Sudan where I visit frequently speak in the local language, or their mother tongue Pajulu or Bari, nothing else. They use this language in formal domains such as prayers on Sunday and during occasions. But in Nairobi choice of which language to use among the Sudanese community depends on the level of group you are interacting with socially or otherwise. The choices include Bari language, Juba Arabic, English and Swahili. English is my number one work language. Moreover my colleagues at work place comprise Sudanese and Kenyans. I rarely use the local spoken Juba Arabic at work except when we are alone as South Sudanese and also only for verbal communication or informal meetings (Lomude, 25-3-03).

The foregoing comments on language use patterns relating to the different language situations and affected by various factors recur in our conversation with the participants in this study's research interviews. The interview extracts below contain those pieces of information.

This is how Kobi describes language use in his family.

I describe my family as multilingual because my wife speaks a language different from my mother tongue. So the two of us already speak two different languages, Moru and Kuku or Bari. We also speak Juba Arabic at home. As we are resident in Kenya for the time being during the war, we also speak Kiswahili and English. The children especially use these two latter languages a lot at home as well as outside of course with their friends. My children hardly speak in Moru my mother tongue or Bari/Kuku their mother's mother tongue, although they understand both languages

passively. I use English at work most of the time, but sometimes I have to speak in Juba Arabic to staff and workers who do not understand English (Kobi, 27-3-03).

The concept of mother tongue requires clarification with regard to a situation where parents of children in a domestic domain belong to different ethnolinguistic groups.

In Sudan patrilineal system dictates that children identify and are identified with their father's ethnic group. They are therefore expected to learn the language and adopt and perform all the cultural rites that are associated with their father's ethnic heritage. This pattern explains the ideal traditional village or rural setting, however. Miller and Abu-Manga (1992) and Hindi (2000) report interesting findings from their sociolinguistic study of Sudanese migrants to the North and the capital Khartoum in particular, with regard to language use among house holds of intermarried couples. Miller and Abu-Manga, for example found that

“mixed-marriages, place of birth and demographic weight of each language group within the migrant settlement seem to be important factors of language maintenance or language recession” (Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992:102).

If this was happening to Southern Sudanese Internally Displaced Persons in and around Khartoum, the situation of Southern exiles in Kenya and in Nairobi in particular should be explained similarly.

All the three sets of data examined above are from interviewees who are involved in exogamous marriages. Unlike these three examples, these two below explain the situation of language use among families of endogamous marriages.

Rev Edward Tombe who worked and lived in Khartoum during the civil war period describes his language use and that of his family and the community he affiliates to back home in Southern Sudan:

I speak Bari and Arabic at home with my family. In general Arabic is spoken in the urban areas as the lingua franca, where the population is mixed, that is from various ethnic origins. This use includes the market types of settings and also for informal communication in government offices. But in the rural areas or villages people speak Bari, no English, no Arabic. But local Arabic is an alternative in the village settings whenever a stranger or a non-Bari speaker comes into the village. I use English and Arabic at work. Arabic is used when one communicates with support staff. As I work for a church organisation we deal with non-Sudanese partners and therefore it is necessary that we correspond in English. But we communicate annual reports and correspond with central government agencies such as the Sudanese Humanitarian Commission in both Arabic and English depending on the level of staff one is dealing with (Rev Edward, 11-4-03).

Again although this is a different language use setting compared to the one below, the outcome seems alike. Drago encourages the use, development and maintenance of all Southern Sudan ethnic languages; without exception. Here is what he said about language use in his family and community, as well as his own language use in public domain. Drago says:

It is our family policy that we speak our mother tongue, Ma'di in the house. So I and my wife, who is fortunately from the same tribe as myself, make sure we speak our mother tongue in the house. As a result all our children speak Ma'di fluently. When we are not in the house the children tend to speak in Swahili most of the time, say about 80% of their time. This is very unfortunate. But when we are at home with the children they tend to speak Ma'di all the time, almost 100%. Because of their being in Kenya, their use of English and Swahili means that their skills in the two languages are much better developed than in Ma'di. I use English in the work place whether in Sudan or in Kenya. English is also the language I am excellent in. My Ma'di is very good although I have to learn the new alphabet as the old one is being replaced. As for the languages that are used for communication in the wider communities it depends where one is (Drago, 30-3-03).

This last point invites comments similar to those made by Lomude earlier above about different roles of languages in different contexts. Otherwise unlike the liberal attitude to mother tongue acquisition in Kobi's household, the situation in Drago's appears to enhance children's acquisition and learning of their mother tongue.

Other language use patterns that appear common to all the Southern participants include use of English as the official work language. None of the indigenous languages in the Southern Sudan is used for official purposes, although all the major languages, which happen to be group languages described in Chapter 4, are used in social contexts and in performing customary rites. The indigenous languages are also used in the church as medium of celebrating mass services and for teaching the catechism. There is an obvious discrepancy here between language use in the home, in other non-official domains and in the official domains in the Southern Sudan. As we have seen above with regard to Northern Sudan, this difference in language practice seems to be reduced, in part due to the widespread use of Arabic as the 'national' and official language, and the consequent loss or suppression of the indigenous languages and dialects as explained in Chapter 3.

Three types of models can be constructed to represent the language use patterns of Southern Sudanese in various domains as described below.

Figure 8: Showing type1 language use model illustrating a family of an endogamous married couple. Source: Holmes, 2001, p. 23.

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES

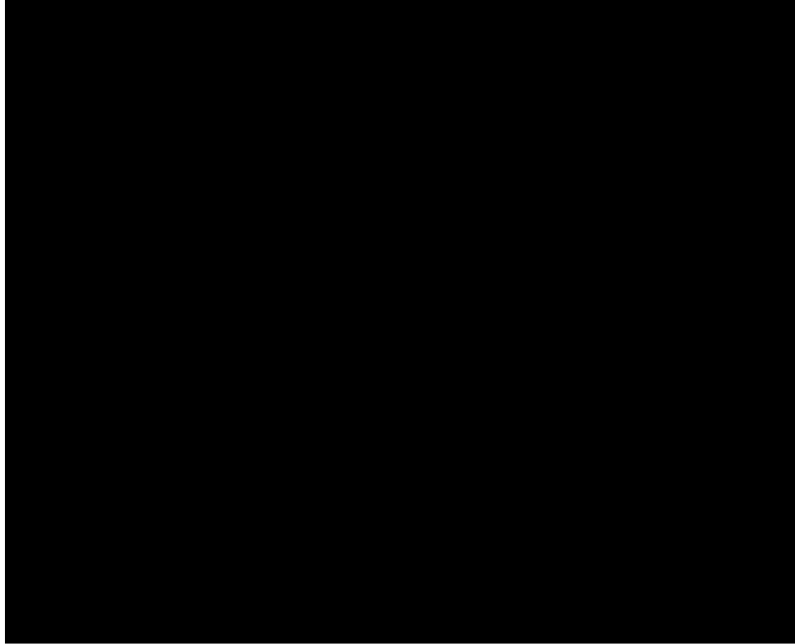
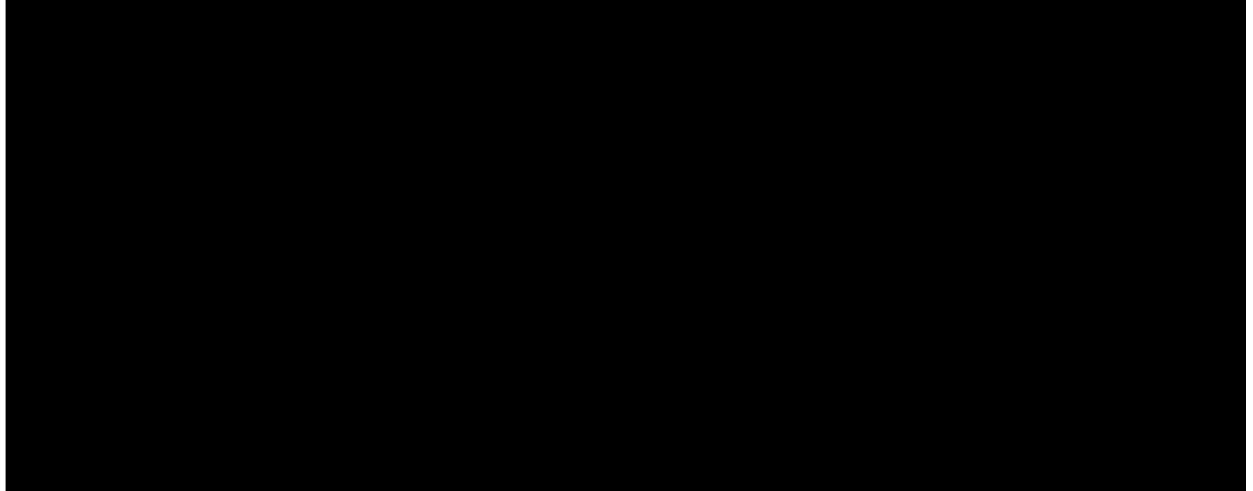


Figure 9: Showing type 2 language use model representing a family of mixed or exogamous married couple. Source: Holmes, 2001, p 23.

TABLE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



language use patterns of mixed marriage Southern Sudanese couple.

There are varieties of patterns of couple from mixed marriage families, but these two are sufficiently broad to represent such variations. Reports on children language use patterns shows much influence from Juba Arabic, the Southern Sudanese lingua franca which can explain two behaviours. One, children from different language groups get connected through Juba Arabic, be that in their country of immigration or

in South Sudan. Two, children from mixed marriage use Juba Arabic at home earlier than those from families of unmixed marriage. The following models show variants of language use patterns of children who live outside Sudan.

Figure 10: Language use patterns of Southern Sudanese children outside Sudan.
Type 1. Source: Holmes (2001)

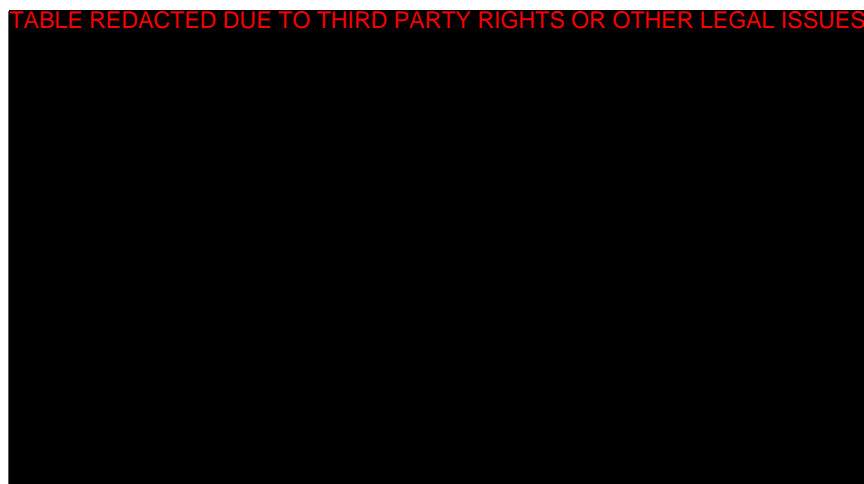
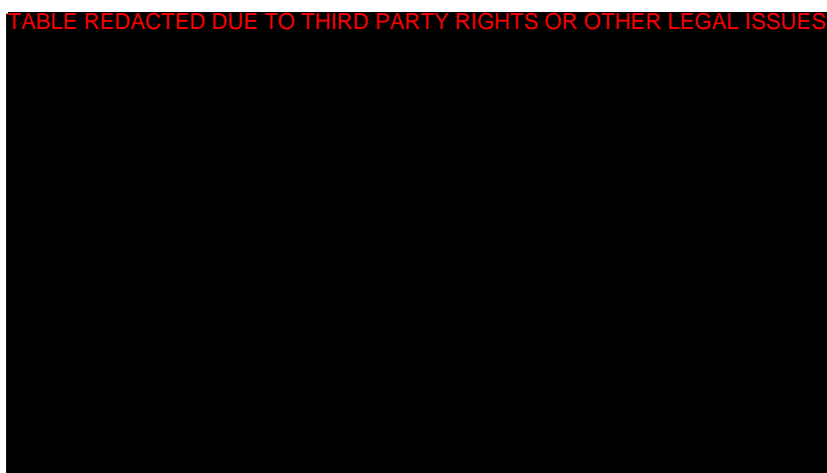


Figure 11: Language use patterns of Southern Sudanese children outside Sudan.
Type 2. Holmes (2001).



Like the adult ones above, these language use patterns of Southern Sudanese children provide a broader picture of language behaviour in the family and community. Although mother tongue and Juba Arabic appear in type one, both models are not near the language use patterns of Southern Sudanese children at home in Sudan.

8. 5. Religious Dimension of Language Use in Southern Sudan

The interview data of Southern Sudanese priests reveal some information pointing to the implications of Arabicisation for language use in the church domain. Following below are the religious side of my conversation with Bishop Dominic Dau and Father Achol.

Bishop Dau: The whole country is being Arabised, Arabic is the language of wider communication at the moment in Sudan. As the sole official language of the country, Arabic must be used in all official correspondence, such as writing and sending job applications. Otherwise, your application will not be read and considered (Bishop Dau, 12-4-03).

This is what the two clergy men said regarding the languages they use in church for official purposes:

Bishop Dau: English is used for administration and official communication. Arabic is used when the target person or office does not use English in official correspondence, and also when dealing with those members of staff or workers who do not understand English. Arabic (spoken colloquial versions) is also used in prayer or sermon where the congregation is mixed. But if you have a congregation composed of one ethnic group, then a local language is used for communicating the sermon and explaining the Gospel (Bishop dau, 12-4-03).

As for Fr Achol who is a Catholic priest based in Bussere near Wau, Southern Sudan.

The pattern of language use in my church is similar to that which Bishop Dau has described. In the Catholic Church where I work, however, we use three languages associated with ages of the congregation. The elders from mixed ethnic groups are always comfortable with their Mass said in English. The youth have their Mass in Arabic. Last but not least, there are tailored Masses for specific communities. Thus, a Dinka community mass is attended by Dinka, and so on with Nuer, Shulluk, and other communities (Fr Achol, 12-4-03).

According to Fr Achol the reason why it is preferred to provide the youth mass service in Arabic is because they are from mixed ethnic groups, so it required a common language to communicate with them during the mass.

It is clear from the above examples of language use in the church domain that different languages are employed for different purposes, and the choice of what language to use depends on the variables such as age and ethno-linguistic identity of groups getting the service. These include youth from different language backgrounds, older generation who like their mass in English, monolingual groups who speak their ethnic languages. Language use in the Sudanese church administration is also dependent on the organisations the churches are corresponding with. It is apparent here that diglossia situation dictates language use in the Sudanese church as it does in the other domains described above. Since historically speaking the Gospel was spread in the Southern Sudan through indigenous languages, with masses in vernaculars and Latin (in the Catholics Church), with English in all churches later on to serve the

educated group, the recently increasing use of Arabic which seems to be getting strong in the Sudanese Church as well as in the society as a whole, to borrow Fasold's (1987) term, is a leakage into vernacular function.

Although it is still too early, given the fluid language situation in Sudan, to give a judgement as to the outcome, or even the direction of future language use of Sudanese, Mahmud (1983) and Hindi (2000) claim what is happening to the communication pattern of Sudanese in urban areas or cities like Juba and Khartoum is evidence of language shift to Arabic from vernaculars. Speaking of all Sudanese migrants from marginal rural areas to towns, Miller and Abu-Manga (1992) explain this event as inevitable result when they say that

“migration leads to fundamental change in language use: Arabic which was learnt and spoken as a L2 or L3 in the home region is now used as a dominant language in all communicational domains, including family interaction within the household” (ibid: 109).

Even so, and with regard to Southerners, the authors found that permanent migration was not an option, because many Southern families wanted to return to their home regions once the civil war comes to an end peace is holding. This fact plus the fact that vernacular recession, as revealed by the language use pattern of younger generations of Southern Sudanese in displaced people's camps in the North (Hindi, 2000; and also Mahmud, 1983) is not being taken well by a majority of Southern language groups among the migrant communities indicate resistance. There is therefore hope for linguistic and cultural revival, once the CPA is fully implemented. As Miller and Abu-Manga (1992) found out in their inquiry into the language and cultural attitudes of Southern migrants in the North,

“many migrants didn't feel integrated within the Northern Sudanese society at all. They wish to maintain their language and culture and, above all, tend to idealise their home regions and ethnic ties” (Ibid:103).

This attitude may help in the post-civil war cultural and linguistic revival by Southern migrant groups inside Sudan and in all parts of Sudanese Diaspora.

8. 6. Implications of Arabicisation for Various Roles of the Indigenous Sudanese Languages

This discussion is geared towards understanding the extent to which cultural and linguistic imperialism of the Khartoum government and its Northern power elite have affected the attitudes of the speakers of indigenous languages in Sudan as a whole and in particular in Southern Sudan since independence. The discussion aims to show whether and to what extent the indigenous speakers' identity with their native languages, and by extension their cultures. The findings here will indicate the extent of the implications of Arabicisation policy on the role of indigenous Sudanese languages in education.

8.6.1. For Consideration of Indigenous Languages as National Resources

Treatment of language as a national social resource, in the sense of an asset in a multilingual country is one area where the implementation of the post-independence Arabicisation policy is far-reaching in its effects, actual and potential. Gauging the implications regarding language as resource is very important in this discussion, which is aimed at informing future national and regional language in education policy. The following extracts from interview data of participants in this study show the extent of their awareness about the resource value of language in general and the indigenous languages in particular. I use responses to two key questions, one of which asks whether the participants feel the Sudanese languages are an important national social resource, and whether the participants or government play roles to promote those languages.

Rev George Kiriba responded positively to the question on the above theme when he said:

Let us take the use of songs that are being composed among the various communities in the Southern Sudan. These songs could be used for a variety of purposes, including war, death, marriage, birth, harvest time, dance during social events, and for worshipping God. So to me language is a library which we could develop and could be used for various purposes (Rev Kiriba, 1-4-03).

This is a basic but appropriate example in the context of Southern Sudan's popular culture and how it can benefit from treatment of language as national resource. I find the analogy with library very appropriate and meaningful. Other equally useful

examples of significance are from Ollamoi and Opilu from the South and Ahmed and Mukhtar from the North. Ollamoi says:

My culture and language have developed me to be what I am today. One aspect of language as valuable asset is to do with my own Lotuko social customs governing the organisation of a peer group of young people called 'monya miji.' If the Lotuko language is not maintained this valuable tradition will die. Look at it even through globalisation, culture can be a valuable resource. The Masai in Kenya are a tourist attraction and they are bringing income to the country. This is because of their maintenance of their culture and language (Ollamoi, 28-3-03).

This last point about culture industry with reference to the Masai in Kenya implies government negligence of indigenous Sudanese languages, particularly in the South, which could have been utilised for the same purpose.

Opilu shares this view with Ollamoi when he says:

We know that the Sudan government has never developed our languages and cultures; I have not seen any tourist visiting the Southern town or villages as they do in Kenya, for example. It is therefore the government policy in the Sudan which limits the use and maintenance of the local languages and cultures. The policy is geared towards use of Arabic for every thing or all aspects of life in the country, and especially promotion of Islamic religion (Opilu, 28-3-03).

The views from the two Northern Sudanese are also very illuminating of the role of language as a social resource. Ahmed stresses the point differently when he says:

I see an element of investment where languages would be developed as mediums of education, communication within administration and so on (Ahmed, 5-4-04).

And then after commenting on the cost that could be involved in developing the several indigenous languages he considers the highest benefit for the Sudanese society:

But then you cultivate a sense of respect. People would feel respected, dignified, in the sense that they were given recognition. And that would also go into the development of human resources in the long run. Indeed there is an element of investment (Ahmed, 5-4-03).

Mukhtar stresses the knowledge aspect of the indigenous Sudanese languages and cultures, and the probable benefit from this in the form of educational materials, when he says:

And because we don't know or understand the different languages we miss a lot in terms of what those languages and cultures express in terms of tradition, poetry, and literature. And Sudan is very rich in these resources. It is now a matter of the educational system to allow the people to learn about these other cultures, stories and literature, so that they grow up with these rich cultures in Sudan. This is the great advantage which we have been missing all through (Mukhtar, 27-12-03).

Regarding the role of central government in the encouragement of languages as national resources, both Ahmed and Mukhtar thinks this is not the case.

Ahmed: I think the experiences I know of have been negative. Not only that but there was and there is still an active discouragement of other languages at the official and society levels (in the North). There is ridiculing of other languages, there is impatience with people whose first language is not Arabic. And there is a kind of pressure for somebody to conform or to learn the dominant language. Now, this sometimes creates a lot of problems, not only in ordinary communication, but also in the court room, for example (Ahmed, 5-4-04).

Mukhtar: My own observation is that government do not look at the Sudanese languages as national resources. They do not have this in mind at all I think. I think on the contrary they deal with it (language) as a problem. They have tried for a long time instead to forge ahead with their agenda that we can resolve all the problems of the country if we all speak Arabic and if we all become Muslims. I hope that there will come a time when the Sudanese government will treat the different language as national resources, and value them and the cultures that go with them, and at the same time plan the language policy accordingly. And I think this is possible now because of the political situation in the country (Mukhtar, 27-12-03).

The discussion above shows a positive Sudanese opinion on the notion of language as a national resource. It also shows a clearly negative role played by the post-independence Sudanese government in regard to treatment of indigenous Sudanese languages, in the South in particular, as a national resource worth developing. Below, we discuss the link between language and social identification, specifically mother tongue, the term used in the context of this study to refer to ethnic language, regardless of whether those who refer to it speak it as first language or not.

8.6.2. For Consideration of Indigenous Languages as Symbols of Identity

The extent to which the implementation of the post-independence Arabicisation policy has affected the ability and role of indigenous languages and cultures as sources of social identification among Southern Sudanese can be assessed in this discussion through analysing the interview data further than has been done so far in the forgoing chapters. The questions that I asked the participants regarding the relation of language and social identity include those asking them for implied knowledge and awareness of language as an important aspect of their social identification. I also asked them question about the language or languages (indigenous or non-indigenous) they identify with, and whether the Sudanese should identify with one language and culture as the ruling Northern elite would like to see happen.

Tabouret-Keller (1997) explains the dynamic nature of the relationship between language and social identity. She points out that the essence of language features “are the link which binds individual and social identities together” (Tabouert-Keller, 1997:317). Language use offers the widest range of features and the most easily adoptable ones for identification (Tabouret-Keller, op. cit. p 318). Similarly, in his discussion of ‘uses and abuses of language’ as a resource, Bamgbose (2000) alluded to the solidarity function of language and to language prejudice which contain both positive and negative aspects of language as a source of identity. While the solidarity function in the context of Africa can be a source of pride in the indigenous languages, identifying too much with one’s ethnic group may risk alienating speakers of other languages. It is worse when solidarity leads to discrimination or exclusion through language. While I will refer to the solidarity function of language to illustrate the identity function below, I will reserve the use of the negative aspect of the solidarity function, or the “most intense” language prejudice to the extent that it leads to exclusion. Bamgbose (2000:36) provides below specific situations to illustrate the identity function of language as a means of excluding others, or in extreme cases physically attacking and eliminating them.

I find this approach to the discussion of language and identity relevant to the language policy discussions in this thesis, in that through being prejudiced the power elite have used Arabic identity to exclude others. This point will be useful in discussing Chapter 9 where suggestions for an alternative educational language policy which answers identity problems related to language use will be made.

8.6.3. For the Extent to which Sudanese Identifying with Indigenous Languages

In response to a question on the importance of language as a source of social identity three of the participants in the interviews Lomude, Ibrahim and Opilu, give views emphasising the role of indigenous languages as symbols of social and ethnic identity. Lomude simply said language ‘singles you out’, which can be interpreted, in the context of South Sudan, to mean you can be identified through your mother tongue, or language can be utilised to single out or identify both members of a language group and those outside that group. The three participants share similar views about language as a symbol of identity in the context of ethnically organised Sudanese

society. Ibrahim makes this assertive comment regarding the link between language and ethnic identity.

Language is at the forefront when it comes to self-identification. You identify yourself as belonging to this or that other group by means of language. So language is extremely crucial. So I identify with my mother tongue Bari, followed by the other languages or dialects related to Bari (Ibrahim, 4-4-03).

Opilu makes a similar claim alluding to micro features of language such as names as means of identification:

I think I can identify people easily, and I can also be identified through my name. If I say my name is Opilu, automatically someone will know I am a Ma'di or come from the Ma'di ethnic group in the Southern Sudan. Likewise If I hear the name Gore I know that he must be a Bari or from the Bari-speaking group. So language is one of the most important aspects of our social identity (Opilu, 28-3-03).

It is interesting that Opilu uses simple language features such as names, in his explanation of the link between language and identity in the context of Southern Sudan. The naming system among the ethno-linguistic communities in Southern Sudan, as in other parts of the world, is a cultural feature and mediated by language, hence the importance of names as indicators of cultural identities of different and various peoples. Up to this point in the discussion of role of language in identifying people the least intense level of prejudice has featured in the conversation with Sudanese participants in this study. Although, as Bamgbose (2000: 36) suggests, "language prejudice does not usually go beyond discrimination", anything could happen in war situations. The examples below from Nigeria and Sudan indicate this but do not come nearer to the biblical story in Judges (12:4-6) cited in Bamgbose (ibid), and Tabouret-Keller (1997) where failure of individuals from one group of people, the Ephraimites to pronounce the first phoneme 'sh' in the word 'shibboleth' or their likely use of 's' instead led to their physical elimination or execution as enemies of the ruling Gilead people in that war situation.

Two examples of language use as a symbol of identification in war situations, which led only to discrimination and may be physical and psychological torture, come from Nigeria and Southern Sudan. In the Nigerian example (see Bamgbose, ibid, p 37), fleeing rebels (non-Yoruba) from battles during the Nigerian civil war (1966-1971) were distinguished from other citizens by testing them at road blocks with the pronunciation of the Yoruba word 'toro', meaning 'three pence'. The non-Yoruba people who were likely to say 'tolo' were identified and arrested at road blocks.

In the Sudanese example, a major military incident, a mutiny of mainly Southern men of the Equatorial Corps against Khartoum orders to transfer them to Northern Sudan in the wake of Sudan's independence, which marked the start of the first civil war between the South and the North had occurred in August 1955 in the garrison town of Torit, Southern Sudan. During the turmoil that followed and as Khartoum was trying to restore control, rebel soldiers from the Equatorial Corps mounted ambushes of Northern army and what they thought were associated legitimate targets all over the South. Kobi recounts a story of one such ambush:

Schools were closed down following the mutiny of Southern soldiers in Torit, Southern Sudan. Armed group of rebelling soldiers intercepted a truck carrying students to their home villages and towns. In the truck there was Abiyaza, a Moru youth who had the light-brown complexion of the Arabs in Northern Sudan. Although he was singled out for possible punishment, they gave him the benefit of identifying himself. He spoke in Moru language but none of the soldiers understood Moru. He was asked to do other things to identify himself. He performed a Moru dance which a couple of soldiers recognised. He was saved (Kobi, 27-3-03).

This incident indicates the multiple and dynamic nature of identification, in that in the event that language did not work for Abiyaza, a cultural symbol worked and was recognised by his captors. I find examples of the link between language and social identity in the interview data conducted for this study intriguing because they show a high degree of similarity in views to those already in the literature of such sociolinguists as Tabouret-Keller (1997).

Bishop Dau and Rev. Kiriba extend the notion of language and culture as symbols of identity among Southern Sudanese further when they give their personal experiences. Bishop Dau says:

Without language nothing can show who you are. It is the language that identifies you. It is because of your culture which the language carries that you can identify your self. If you lose your language, then you have loss your identity. That is the problem with us at the moment. That is what the Arabs (Sudanese people of Arab origin who dominate over power in Sudan) are targeting. That is what they are doing to us at the moment. The reason why the Arabs are Islamising and Arabising us is to kill the identity of calling yourself somebody. In the long run, after us, may be my children will be the last to speak Dinka, if this trend continues. They would have lost their culture and language, they would be anybody. So language is important. Without language who are you? (Bishop Dau, 124-03)

This is what Rev Kiriba had to say on an even more personal level:

I felt that language is very important when one day I had a letter from one of my sons in the US. He wrote to me saying: 'father we did not have the chance of learning our language (mother tongue). Now things are coming up here which require us to identify ourselves. Can you write

some material for us on how to name a newly born child and other customary things.' I think language is important for social identity. When you go among people you can identify yourself through language (rev Kiriba, 1-4-030).

The above discussions on the link between language and social identity also brings to the fore the attitudes of Southern Sudanese toward the languages in their society. It clearly shows the extent to which they value their languages and cultures. The participants appear to place languages in their repertoire into order of priority or importance as far as identifying is concerned, with their mother tongues first, more often this is followed by Juba Arabic (the Southern version of Arabic) and then Arabic or English.

Most participants in this study also provided idiosyncratic accounts of the role of the indigenous languages in social and cultural identification. It is these personal feelings towards their mother tongues and the other languages that we seek to understand so that we assess the extent to which Arabicisation has influenced those individuals and communities who have resisted the Northern linguistic and cultural influence since independence in 1956. The extracts of Bishop Dau and Rev Kiriba illustrate the crucial point about the importance of language and culture as valuable sources of identification among Southern Sudanese, in relation to Arabic speaking Northerners. The fact that the participants and their family members hold to these views and identify with their languages and cultures for more than 50 years now since Sudan's independence, is an indication that the Southern Sudanese people are aware about the role of language and culture as a symbols ethnic differentiation. This realisation is important in a situation like that in Sudan where speakers of indigenous and immigrant languages and cultures are competing for position, status and roles.

These extracts underline not just the importance which Southern Sudanese attach to their languages and cultures, but also the deep emotional feelings which the need for these elements generates. This appears to be genuine whether in the face of Arabicisation for those Sudanese who continue to resist the influence of Arabic culture inside the country, or for those who would like to maintain their ethnic cultures in their countries of immigration.

Pragmatic views on language and identity appear to also prevail. Most participants want both to maintain their languages and cultures as symbols of their identity in a linguistically and culturally diverse Sudanese society as well as share a common national language or lingua franca (see Mukhtar below for a good example). It is also significant to find that some participants from the South have acknowledged the importance of a unifying language for all the Sudanese to identify with provided that that specific groups maintain their particular identities. They clearly say that a common language or the symbol of national unity should not be imposed and used as a means to “de-culturalise” or assimilate the non-Arabs into the Arab culture (see Lomude’s extract below). The extracts below constitute some of the key findings which show that the identity role of language can go beyond the usual feeling of belonging to a group with whom one shares a language, to include the use of language in finding solutions to identity problems.

8.6.4. For the Extent to which Sudanese Identifying With Non-Indigenous Languages

Southern Sudanese in this study tend to emphasise their preference for English and while doing so consider Arabic a non-indigenous Sudanese language. Interview extracts from Kenyi and Robert Mila below clearly illustrate this attitude. But Ayik’s (1986) study of Southern students in Egyptian Universities and higher education institutions provide some useful findings on the exploration of Southern Sudanese attitudes to languages in Sudan, particularly in relation to the opposing roles of Arabic and indigenous languages in Southern Sudan. It is however significant that similar findings based on interviews on the theme of language as a symbol of identity, with Southerners and Northerners in this study, distinguish between the standard Arabic and the versions they associate with the Middle Eastern Islamic culture on the one hand, and the local home grown varieties such as Juba Arabic and Khartoum colloquial with which they strongly identify, on the other (Ayik 1986; Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992). In addition to the above mentioned languages, Swahili features significantly as the language identified with mainly among the Sudanese interviewees who live in exile in Uganda and Kenya.

I provide below a sample of the participants' responses to the question under the above mentioned theme: Which non-Sudanese language(s) do you identify with?

Kenyi: I identify with English, the language I have used as medium of my education and the official language in the office or work place. The language I associate with very closely. I also identify with the local Juba Arabic as it is the language of inter-communication with the communities around. I use a bit of Kiswahili as a language to identity with whenever I am in Kenya or Uganda (Kenyi, 25-3-03).

Robert Milla shares Kenyi's view as he reacted to the question:

Definitely English. I have done all my education in English if you want the reasons. I don't identify with Arabic. As for Juba Arabic, yes, it can be considered indigenous, but it is used for convenience really, not for identification (Milla, 2-4-03).

Based on Kenyi's and Milla's views, education process seems to influence behaviour of language users even if that language as in the case of English here is foreign. English looks like an adopted mother tongue to these informants. Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) calls this mother tongue by identification. In addition, Robert Milla seems to imply here that Juba Arabic is so far useful as a lingua franca only and not as a means of identification, a function that is assumed by the ethnic languages. This seems to show the stage in the evolution of or development of Juba Arabic. Robert's view stands out as minority against those of several other participants who identify closely with Juba Arabic, or who portray it as a second mother tongue. At any rate any language can provide symbols of identification, especially once a group speaks it as a mother tongue.

The educated Southern position on language preference is not in doubt here, considering these views. But these findings are also consistent with issues of language and identity in the sociolinguistic literature, for example Skutnabb-Kangas's (2000) discussion on mother tongue in multilingual situations in Chapter 2. In the context of Sudan, several observations, for example the former Regional Assembly resolutions based on their debate on language policy in 1974 (see Appendix 3) testify to this. Ayik's (1986) findings based on a study of Southern students in Egypt is another example. On the question of language and identity for example, Ayik (ibid) found that English is regarded as a second rather than foreign language. It enjoys a more favoured position than Arabic, for example as a medium of instruction in schools because, as Ayik's informants put it: "English is more prestigious than Arabic" and

“knowledge of English provides a good job” (ibid: 63). The unfavourable position of The position of Arabic amongst Southern students in Ayik’s study is shown by the attitude that they do not recognise Arabic as “the official language of Sudan” (ibid: 63), nor should it be the medium of instruction in Southern schools. In a consistent answer to the related question of Sudanese identity, most Southern students in Ayik’s study tend to regard Sudanese as more of Africans than Arabs, contrary to the policy and dominant ideology of Arabism propagated by the ruling elite in Khartoum.

The problem with this attitude or position of the elite in Southern Sudan is that it might jeopardise the role of indigenous languages, as the debates tends to be on either English or Arabic. In the context of still largely rural Southern Sudan which this study addresses, the support of the educated group is essential for the development and promotion of those languages.

The discussions above of the language use pattern of Southern Sudanese in particular on the role of indigenous languages in education imply that vernaculars should be promoted and developed. This is consistent with previous studies, some of which like the Rejaf Language Conference resolutions are historical. Ayik’s study referred to above in which the majority of his respondents favoured indigenous languages written in Latin characters as per the Rejaf recommendations, rather than accept Arabic as the medium of instruction in primary schools in the South, is significant. Promoting the role of indigenous languages seems to be a better way to counter the political programme of the ruling Northern elite which is to reorient Sudanese society to identify with one language and a single culture. But as the emphasis on English by Kenyi and Robert, not to forget Ayik’s Cairo study of Southern Sudanese, and the former Regional Assembly language debate show, the strong pro-English position indicates economic interest in language learning in the South in the context of the globalising world (see Granville, et al, 1998, Block, 2002). The discussion of that follows below addresses the question as to whether Sudanese should identify with only one language and culture (Arabic) or be more global.

8. 6.5. Whether all Sudanese Should Identify with one Language and a Single Culture

This theme highlights the post-independence conflict aspect of the relationship of language and social and cultural identity in Sudan. It was aimed at examining the positions of Southern Sudanese and the Northern participants in the interviews regarding the current linguistic and cultural policies of the ruling elite in Khartoum, and the extent to which it has changed their opinions or positions in the last 50 years of Sudan's independence. The discussion also took into account current studies on Sudanese national identity, for example, Deng (1973), Lesch (1998) and Mukhtar (2004), among others. The reason for this was to examine the extent of the influence of the Arabicisation policy on the foundation and structure of any future language in education policy in the Sudan and in the South in particular. Below I provide a sample of participants' responses to the question whether the Sudanese people should identify with one language and a single culture.

As we will find out in their various responses below, most of the participants do not see the logic of one language nation. They think it cannot work in such a culturally and linguistically diverse country as Sudan. Yet other respondents gave pragmatic responses to the question and suggest learning of as many languages as the education system can provide. In response to this question Ibrahim for example said:

It is impossible! Formation of people into one national group should be voluntary. For one ethnic group to plan or design and impose a policy of assimilation towards others creates rejection. This is the reason why Southern Sudanese are resisting the Arab design. A common culture takes time to develop amongst people. But if it is imposed that will be impossible (Ibrahim, 4-4-03).

But Jenti gave a more elaborate answer digging into the nature of Sudanese society particularly its linguistic and cultural diversity:

Sudan is a very big country; it is multilingual, multicultural, etc. It cannot work. One of the reasons why people in Sudan are fighting is the imposition of Arabic as single language on people. It should be allowed to have the several languages. Diversity is brought about by the richness of the different languages. In South Africa today there are eleven languages (officially recognised) (Jenti, 11-4-03).

It is significant that some Northern Sudanese participants in the study, both from the areas associated with the ruling groups in central and Northern Nile valley and from marginalised areas such as the Nuba Mountains, joined the Southerners in rejecting

the post-independence policy of linguistic and cultural assimilation. The following extracts illustrate their stance.

Adam gives a straight negative answer to the question; like Jenti referring to Sudanese diversities:

No! We must have diversity in unity, because you cannot unify the Sudanese with one language and one culture. The reality is that there are a lot of diversities, cultural, ethnic, linguistic, and so on. The minority cliques in Khartoum have tried to impose one language and one culture but they have failed. Instead their policies have bred war and instability, war and a lot of problems. So it is better we respect all these cultures and languages and we continue to live together (Adam, 29-4-03).

There is common ground in the above responses, which is that Sudanese linguistic diversity requires multilingual educational policies, and that lack of this has led to and exacerbated the conflict and war in the country. Further comments below highlight the negative response to the question although the respondent is a little more pragmatic such as this one from Mukhtar who said:

No, I don't think so. I think the Sudanese people have different regions and different ethnic groups and they should be allowed to identify with their own languages and their own different cultures. But at the same time some body, or the different individuals coming from different regions may find it important for them to learn Arabic, the language of the dominant ruling class, the language of the centre, the language of trade and so on. But the people should not be forced to identify with one language as being the most important one among the others. People should use their own languages, but at the same time they learn other languages in order to communicate across the country. This language or languages could be those of your compatriots or those like English that are imported and you need learn them in order to become part of this world (Mukhtar, 27-12-03).

Mukhtar's comments show he recognises Sudanese diversity just as Ibrahim, Jenti and Adam do. However, he expresses pragmatic solution to the policy of one nation one language. He echoes several Southerners in this study who agree in principle with the idea of a common language or languages that unite all Sudanese who at the same time can maintain different ethno-linguistic characteristics and continue to develop and use their languages and cultures.

The discussion above shows that the link between the notion of language as a social resource, and language as a symbol of identity among the speakers of indigenous Sudanese languages are alive and strong. The awareness of the problem as caused by the post-independence government policy of Arabicisation is clear among Southern Sudanese and liberal minded or dissenting Northerners, and seems to be a source of hope for a future more comprehensive and accommodating language in education policy. There seems to be a genuine need for such a policy which has been yearned

for by Southern Sudanese since independence in vain. These views and perceptions of informants in this study stand in contrast to the findings of some sociolinguistic studies on Southern Sudan which claim that rapid shift from indigenous languages to Arabic is occurring among Southern Sudanese (Mahmud, 1983; and Hindi, 2000). In terms of the current international trend towards mother tongue education, the views of participants in this study which clearly show that mother tongues are pre-eminent sources of social identity are within reach of being translated into action. This could go towards confirming some of the ongoing struggle for mother tongue education among linguistic 'minorities.'

8.7. Relationship of Language as a Resource to Empowerment or Exclusion and Development

The role of language as a resource for empowerment or exclusion and development can be viewed from various contemporary perspectives. The question that comes to mind in the discussion of the above topic is how ideology and power relations determine the role of indigenous languages in any society? The view that indigenous African languages should now have a role to play in the socio-economic and cultural development of the society is shared by most contemporary observers of the African linguistic situation (Bamgbose, 2000; Okombo, 2001, Angarora, 2002, and Alexander, 2004), for example. But there are a few, mainly the elites associated with the ruling regimes, who insist on maintaining the post-colonial or, neo-colonial status quo where the ex-colonial languages have been maintained as official languages think the indigenous languages are not prepared for the task. Former apartheid South Africa and South West Africa (now Namibia) are good examples. Until 9th January 2005 when the central government in Sudan and the SPLM signed a comprehensive peace agreement, Sudan was among these countries. They tend to cite multilingualism, status of indigenous languages, technology and other developed forms of knowledge associated with industrialised Western and their education system as examples to support their position. There is therefore a serious debate with the questions of ideology and political power at its centre.

Citing Giroux (1985), Roy-Campbell (2001:20) observes that both language and power are instruments of ideological control, as it is through the medium of language

that ideas are spread through the education system “to legitimate and structure the ideologies and modes of life of specific groups.” This author describes the force of ideology in the context of language policy and planning discourse as “the beliefs, views, attitudes, and dispositions regarding forms of social life”; which is “a means of validating, even glorifying the class in power”. She goes on to add that ideology “was also a means of ensuring status hierarchies in which the dominant group (sic) would continue to be advantaged” Roy-Campbell (2001:18).

From the definition of ideology above, it is clear that ideology is an effective tool of control, wherever there is a situation of unequal relationship between communities, as a means of ensuring the approval of the policies of the class in power. As Roy-Campbell (ibid) emphasises, language provides the means of reproducing and expressing ideology and power. Both power and ideology are also instruments utilised to ensure that the dominant group continues to hold advantage over the non-dominant ones through inequality in power and relationships. Such relationships eventually have negative implications for society in that, continued imposition of ideology results in the weaker society succumbing and accepting knowledge and values against their will, and even at the risk of “symbolic violence”, described as “a form of mental coercion” that the subordinate classes go through until they come to accept the dominant ideology (ibid). Since ideology is able to turn social practices into commonsense, Martin-Jones (1989) explains how gradual internalisation of ideological materials such as acceptance of devaluation of one’s language as inadequate compared to the dominant one is eventually the work of the minority groups themselves. This author explains the process thus:

“Speakers of minority languages can contribute to the legitimization of the dominant language or to the devaluation of the minority language without being aware of doing so” (Marti-Jones, 1989: 120).

The fact that ideology operates as a hidden process opens it to intense criticism by advocates of indigenous languages and cultures. Supporters of socio-economic development from grassroots through literacy action, for example, share similar concerns against ideologies of dominant groups.

Ngugi wa Thiongo (1986), Fanon (1967) and Freire (1985) are among the scholars who criticise ideological control by means of language which results in *symbolic violence* which is meted on the powerless sections of post-colonial societies by the powerful groups. This is fact of life in the post-colonial Africa. wa Thiongo (1986) describes the imposition of a foreign language on the speakers of indigenous African languages as ‘psychological violence of the classroom’ (wa Thiongo, 1986). Fanon (1967) believes that ‘a person who possesses a language consequently possesses the expressed and implied world by that language;’ and that ‘By devaluing the world of the colonised, the colonizers fractured the world that defined the colonised and placed them in an artificial world that they did not possess.’ As for Freire (1985), he looked at the pedagogical aspect of ‘symbolic violence’ and draws the conclusion that the structure of thinking of a learner using an imposed foreign or non-indigenous language is violated when that learner has to study a subject in that language. The theories above which explain the relationship between power, ideology and language in many ways describe the situation of indigenous languages versus Arabic, the dominant language in Sudan. The relationship is negative rather than positive, or in Skutnabb-Kangas linguistic human rights perspective characterised by “subtractive” rather than “additive” situations (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006: 280)

8.7.1. Language as a Development Resource

The role language plays as both a means of communication and site of knowledge reproduction and utilisation, for development for example, leads us to critically view the continuous utilisation of foreign languages in most African countries instead of the indigenous tongues. Gavon Mbeki, in a foreword to Prah (1998), poses a rhetorical question demanding to know how different African languages are from any others anywhere in the world. Echoing Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) characterisation of languages rights and how those rights may differ depending on power relations between speakers of those languages, he goes on to answer his own question saying that “languages fulfil similar functions where they are spoken”(see Prah, 1998:xi). Put simply, the use of the ex-colonial languages in Sub-Saharan Africa decades after independence has allowed them to present Africa in European image, resulted in the devaluing of the indigenous languages and cultures. The fact that language and culture are the embodiment of knowledge, and that the languages of the European colonizers were used to avail knowledge in the African societies, accorded much importance to

those languages, and at the same time continue to diminish the status of the indigenous ones.

It appears from the forgoing background discussion that to free or decolonise the minds of the African people from ideological and power controls, a start must be made to empower the African languages to enable them to produce local knowledge for development. Discussion of issues relating to these subjects is shared at different levels of intensity by various contemporary African linguists, sociolinguists and educational language researchers (Alexander, 2004; Simala, 2002; Ryanga, 2002; and Muthwii, 2002; Okombo, 2001; and Roy-Campbell, 2001), among them. The apparent proliferation in the research on the role of African languages in development and in other uses in the society, nevertheless, is at the awareness raising stage, compared to actual use of indigenous languages in the post-colonial countries of South East Asia such as Malaysia (Noor, 1997), and Indonesia (Budhisantoso and Jones, 1997). Most of the languages here have achieved a relatively high degree of development and some have been accorded both official and national status.

The question in the ongoing debate in Africa is not longer whether the indigenous languages there are prepared for the task of development, but it is rather, as Alexander puts it:

“how can we make the move from the existing situation where the former colonial languages dominate to one where the indigenous languages of Africa become dominant?” (Alexander, 2004:13).

I find this an optimistic note, a suggestion that the future of indigenous African languages is not bleak as the students of language shift or even outright linguicists would like us believe. The force of the debate on the side of the African developmentalists is challenging language policy planners and researchers to utilise “language planning and other interventions” (ibid) to initiate and/or reinforce changes in the existing patterns of development and in social relations in their respective societies or communities.

8.7.2. Language Role in Empowerment and Exclusion

In addition to the North-South dichotomy that characterises Sudan, we are informed in Chapters 3 and 4 that the country is diverse racially, ethnically and linguistically, to name but just these three examples of Sudanese diversity. We are also now aware about the fact that although varieties of Arabic are spoken across communities and link the people of the North and the South of the country, many indigenous languages dominate the life of this essentially rural country. Social relationships between the political power wielders in the North who control the affairs of the country at the level of central government and the marginalised regions can only be explained in terms of exclusion or empowerment through language. This is so because, as it has been mentioned above in the background to this section, language is a dominant factor in determining social relationships and power positions in the developing multilingual countries. The extent to which this has occurred in Sudan, and what lessons I should extract from this study to recommend as materials towards the formulation of a future language policy are found in the extracts of opinions below from the interviews with Sudanese participants from the North and the South. I asked the participants the following key questions: Do you feel the current Arabicisation policy facilitate your involvement or participation in the affairs of the nation? To what extent do you find the Arabicisation policy and practice in Sudan exclusive or inclusive; empowering or not empowering?

This view from Ahmed, a Northern Sudanese who believes he is not a subject of exclusion provides a good start in the examining of views of participants. Ahmed's view that he does not feel excluded because he is an Arabic-speaking Northerner, highly educated, from Arabised ethnic community, is very enlightening in as far as language role in exclusion is psychological and shapes the attitudes of both the power groups and the victims differently. More significant is this follow up personal view of Ahmed which seems to endorse resistance as a legitimate method through which the marginalised and oppressed communities could obtain their rights.

Ahmed: I think the central government initially got away with the Arabicisation policy due to the fact that most Sudanese people live in remote rural areas, out of touch with the government policy that affected them eventually if not immediately. Had it not been for the conflict that brought the problem to the attention of the public, it would have gone on unnoticed for along time (Ahmed, 5-4-04).

Ahmed is referring to the long post-independence North-South political conflict and civil wars that have preoccupied the Sudan now for 39 years, in deed most period of its 49 years of independence gained in 1956. Ahmed blames Northern elitism and expansionism using Arabicisation as ideology for what Sudan is going through today. This second view from Adam, explains the issue from the point of view of the ordinary people who do not really understand Arabic to be able to follow debates or discussions on crucial national issues affecting their daily lives.

Adam: I think the rest of the Sudanese who don't understand the news in the mass media, political speeches of Arabic leaders (like Sadiq El Mahdi) who use standard Arabic and the others who decide to use only the classical variety of Arabic are actually excluded from participating in national affairs (Adam, 29-4-03).

He gives an insightful example regarding debates in the national parliamentary and speeches on such important national issues as the budget.

When the government is talking about the budget, every body is excluded. Despite the fact that they pay taxes and so on they are excluded from following the budget. This participant goes on to say: The Arabs and the Arabic language itself is highly racial. They don't recognise anybody who is not a Quraise (from Prophet Mohamed's tribe) or a pure Arab, to be fluent and to be recognised. A says though there are other dimensions of the issue, it is not only the language. There is the colour, cultural background etc. They all have something to do with getting a position or ascending the social scale (Adam, 29-4-03).

Views of Southern Sudanese out rightly show the extent of exclusion through language. Most participants cite personal situations of inability to use Arabic effectively, and so try even to exclude themselves from participating due to lack of command of the sole official language, Arabic.

Jenti: I value participating in national affairs but I am inhibited by language barrier. As I said sometimes earlier, I am forced into a corner and had to speak in the Arabic language. But from inside I don't like it, because I feel it is imposed, it is not my language. And the worse thing is, being a Southern Sudanese I feel this is a language of oppression. So, this is on the individual basis only, I don't know how other people feel about it. At the same time I have to follow news on TV, but I cannot read newspapers because I really don't know it (Arabic). So in that way I feel marginalized or left out (Jenti, 11-4-03).

Rev Edward gives a similar but interesting view to that of Jenti's. He comments on the issue of language proficiency in the country, and the need for bilingual communication in public domain. He also echoes Adam when he says many Southerners are unable to read newspapers in Arabic. As far as he is concerned:

I have already mentioned my difficulties in expressing myself in forums that required use of Arabic. At the same time, when I use English (the language I am competent in) then the majority

of my listeners do not understand. At the same time I miss out on speeches in Arabic in meetings. In a way I am in a situation of being made redundant in a way, being unable to communicate. Translation could be the solution, I don't know. Now take also the newspapers.. Many Southerners because they are not proficient in Arabic find it difficult to follow up the events and so on. In fact we eventually encourage the establishment of an English medium newspaper, the Khartoum Monitor. After it was established it became possible for us to read some translations from the Arabic press. There are now journalists who could from time to time interview government ministers and we get that bit of news. But we are not getting all the material (Jenti, 11-4-03).

This view appears to sum up the communication predicament of all social groups that comprise the Southern Sudanese people at national level. Most Southerners are attended schools in English.

Finally, Opilu provides useful views regarding the deprivation of the Southern Sudanese and non-Arabic speakers from getting radio and television programmes, including news, in their local languages. He compares the use of mass media in Sudan with that in neighbouring Uganda.

Opilu: I think the goal of Arabisation policy is to exclude Southerners in the national affairs of the Sudan. Unlike in other countries like Uganda for example, the local languages are represented on the national radio and TV programmes. So in Uganda, Madi language is used as one of the mediums to broadcast news and other programmes, and all the people in the villages hear the same news about Uganda and the world, e.g. What is happening in Iraq for example, without any difference (Opilu, 28-3-03).

The views discussed above show the extent of the need for a national language policy that caters for all Sudanese people. Non-participation of citizens on account of language is a serious national issues that must be addressed and resolved for the benefit of all. If a language, because of the policy behind it, becomes an instrument of exclusion, then where does this leave people's participation in socio-economic and political development, for example, in the society?

8.7.3. Language Role in Social, Economic and Cultural Development

Development in the sense of social and cultural change for the better among the rural majority in the Southern Sudan in particular, which could be brought about through the use of indigenous languages, was an integral part of this thesis from conception. I was inspired by insights of scholars e.g. Gonzalez (1993) who wrote on the role of language in social welfare and development. Gonzalez (ibid) argues against the traditional notion that GDP/GNP should be the sole social welfare indicators. He regards language development and the welfare this brings about in society as an alternative to the traditional approach to conventional measures. Mansour (1993)

argues along the lines of Gonzalez, and advocates for the role of multilingualism in nation building or development. Swilla (1992) is one of the early advocates of the complementary role of the indigenous African languages to that of the LWC. I am even more inspired now with the increased awareness on the issues raised regarding the role of indigenous African languages in socio-economic and cultural development of the African people along side the LWC or ex-colonial languages which will for a long time continue to play a major role in the welfare of the African people.

If social welfare through indigenous Sudanese languages is what I am advocating as a means for the Southern Sudanese people, especially the rural majority, to improve their lives for the better, then I can adopt Mann's (1997) definition of development as "a type of directed social change that provides individuals with increased control over nature" (Mann, 1997:138). The use of indigenous languages in both public and social domains can provide the people with relevant and appropriate knowledge and improved the skills they need to control their environment and to improve their lives. To what extent the Arabicisation policy has availed this opportunity to the linguistically diverse Sudanese people since Sudan's Independence is the question I asked the participants in this research. Below are extracts of their views from the interviews.

Andrew Kulang answer to the above question is as follows:

There is no sign of economic development in the rural areas which can be attributed to the current language policy. In the South for example, the fact that the people detest Arabic makes it difficult for the language to be a vehicle of development, especially in the rural areas. So no social and cultural activities, let alone development projects, can be carried out in the rural areas ("down to the village level") in the South using Arabic as a medium (Andrew, 9-4-03).

This view is supported by similar a one below. Lu'bang: Like Kulang he is a senior Southern educationalist based in SPLM administered areas and carrying out educational development work. According to him:

The main government language policy has done very little to be referred to as development of the Sudanese society in its various forms. But in the South, the local Arabic has to some extent contributed to the communication and sensitisation of the southern communities. Yet even the local Arabic itself is not inclusive, because there are certain areas in the Southern Sudan where the local Arabic is not understood (Lu'bang, 9-4-03).

The point about local Arabic being exclusive is interesting. It actually shows the extent of the spread of the pidgin known locally as Juba Arabic. Lu'bang is not the only participant who has mentioned this. Lomude and Rev Kiriba also think Juba Arabic is not widespread in the Southern Sudan. This leaves us with rural Southern

Sudan hard land as an area where indigenous languages dominate the social lives of the people. Lu'bang has this to say about the rural areas in relation to language use in development:

In the areas of Southern Sudan under the administration of SPLM, emphasis should be put on the use of the local languages for development. Disseminating information about seeds among farmers is one of the examples of such uses. The work of agricultural extension personnel could be made easier if they were to explain the use and the pros and cons of those new or exotic seeds in the local languages. This is because people need to understand fully the functions of modern technology, and they can do this better when they are informed through the medium of their local language (Lu'bang, 9-4-03).

It is apparent of course that the starting point of language role in development is the use of indigenous languages as media of instruction particularly in rural primary or village schools. Lu'bang states this clearly.

I think the teaching at primary school level in the indigenous languages is more meaningful for development at the local level than that at the higher education. This is because if we intensify the teaching at this level, many people will be covered, and if we emphasise the indigenous language policy, and we use that for development, then we shall be reaching the grassroots, rather than being artificial using languages that do not cover all the people. So for development we should put a lot of emphasis on the use of these indigenous languages (Lu'bang, 9-4-03).

8.8. The Specific Role of Arabic in Socio-Economic Development in Southern Sudan

Views of interviewees on the extent to which Arabicisation policy promoted development in the South continue to be varied but have a common ground in that Arabic, as a result of the central government's post-independence language in education policy, has played a negative role in development.

Ahmed: I think it (Arabicisation policy) has marginalised directly or indirectly a wide sector of society. It hasn't contributed to development. Definitely it hasn't contributed to governance in a way that makes everyone feels part of the nation. The continuous war is an indication that people feel marginalised, they don't feel included. So the present policy, if there is any contribution from it is negative (Ahmed, 5-4-04).

Ahmed carried on to give his view on the role of English in the South, which is that it is not providing an effective contribution to development either, since it is not the language of the masses. He describes the choice between Arabic, English and vernacular

as a complex issue. But I find it fictitious for a community to learn in English in school and speak Arabic at home. I don't mind Arabicisation if it is implemented in a proper way (Ahmed, 5-4-04).

Ahmed reveals that he is for harmonisation of the language situation in the country in respect to domains of use when he suggests that the medium of education, of administration and the language spoken at home and used for cultural purposes should not differ so much. He says a bilingual or multilingual policy could facilitate in resolving the problem. This is what he said:

I think the answer to all these questions is implementation of a multilingual policy. An approach that is sensitive to people's needs would help in accelerating the spread of literacy. Literacy could be approached in a way that would motivate or enhance the development of the rural communities. For example, through folklore, story telling, songs, etc, before even introducing reading and writing. This would benefit or enhance socio-economic development of rural communities, in terms of empowerment, in terms of creating small businesses for women and villagers, and in terms of having local community-based councils. All these can be done if you have a kind of approach that is sensitive to the various languages (Ahmed, 5-4-04).

These are important and realistic views that Ahmed has expressed and they form the core of this thesis. They imply, as Ahmed has pointed out earlier, that the Arabicisation policy did not take into consideration, or was not sensitive to the various and real needs of the Sudanese people when it was implemented at independence.

Some participants Ollamoi and Milla say that both Arabic and English could bring about the social change needed in the Southern Sudan in particular. Ollamoi expresses the view that there is an attitude problem on the side of the Arab dominated central government in Sudan which derailing the issue of development. This, he says includes depriving Southerners from acquiring proper knowledge of Arabic. This point is controversial, but there is this side of the debate going on among Southerners.

Ollamoi: To me both the Arabic and English policies would bring benefits to the standards of living of the people when well used. Arabic can also be used for development. There are Arabic speaking countries developing in the Middle East. The question is really about the attitude behind Arabic policy. It is what is destructive to us. It seems to me there is something, which we cannot explain, for example as to why the Arabic language is not used for developing the structures mentioned in the question above. The attitude is that the Arabs don't want us to develop but only to join the Islamic religion. There seems to be also a tendency by the Arabs not to want to give Southerners as much knowledge of the language as possible. Perhaps they don't want Southerners to know more Arabic in order not to be aware or to compete with them. These are some of the things one can say about the Arabic policy in relation to development of the socio-economic structures (Ollamoi, 28-3-03).

As for Robert Milla, he modified his position upon reflecting on his view that Arabic and English could bring about development need in the Southern Sudan. He remembered that the rural areas need the local languages when he said:

The problem was that the more these languages are used in the Southern Sudan, less opportunities are given for the local languages. In a way their use and their use and promotion retards the development of the local languages. People tend to use them in many functions, official government duties, communication, writing, etc. So in a way they retard the development of the local languages. The people who use them are not necessarily the majority of the people but at the same time they are the most effective group in the community. It is they who run the administration, it is they who run the policies, who make decisions etc. This expanded role of the LWC contribute to the retardation of the local languages (Milla, 2-4-03).

These are realistic points from Milla. He balances the needs of the rural people with those of the educated groups who run the affairs of the country. Milla's ideas and those of the other participants should enhance the summary and conclusion of the thesis.

8.9. Conclusion

The foregoing discussions in Chapter 8 have allowed us to examine various sociolinguistic dimensions from various contemporary perspectives. As far as language use patterns of Sudanese are concerned, there are indications of complexity but also predictable language behaviour running across the North Sudan-South Sudan dichotomy. There is evidence showing that while Arabic monolingualism is the goal of the ruling elite in the Northern Sudan, the daily practice of language in Sudan as a whole is far from monolingualism. There is however a tendency in the North, as a result of the historical spread of Islam through the immigration and settlement in Sudan of its Arabic speaking people, to regard 'Sudan' as a monolingual society. The discussion shows clearly that multilingualism characterises the South and some parts of the geographical North. Although some Sudanese researchers claim that there is an irreversible shift from vernacular to Arabic in Southern Sudan, the findings in this study, plus Miller and Abu-Manga's (1992) finding and conclusions which I used to illustrate language use patterns, indicate that one needs to be cautious regarding the so-called shift from indigenous languages to Arabic, because in the Sudanese language situation, in my view, the situation is too complex and too fluid to make such hard conclusions. Sudan is one society where educational language history has been cyclical or repeated itself more frequently than in other post-colonial African states.

Moreover, to illustrate that the claim of language shift is being contested, the new developments in the Nuba and Blue Nile regions, influenced by the SPLM language

policy, are insightful and have implications for language policy recommendations this study would like to make. One implication indicates that Arabic now forms part of the South Sudanese multilingual language use repertoire. More surprisingly, the other shows that the Nuba and Blue Nile regions, parts of the territory controlled by SPLM/A, although in the geographical North, are adopting English, and unifying language use in the official domain with the rest of Southern Sudan. So English is now the official language in these areas, that is, a medium of instruction and of government work.

We note that several participants from the South and North share the common view that all Sudanese languages are valuable. They agree that Arabic in its various forms, for example, Khartoum or Northern Sudanese colloquial, and the Southern variety known as Juba Arabic, is a national language for inter-group communication. And then, there are two significant points: Although they would like to see the current position of Arabic as a 'national' language maintained, the Northern participants in the study support the need for a pluralist language policy that allows for the development of local languages and cultures in the South, in particular, and in the other regions in the country as a whole. Similarly, although they are critically opposed to Khartoum's attempts since independence to impose Arabic and relegate the indigenous languages to non-status languages, Southerners affirm the need for Arabic and its teaching as a subject in schools in any new educational language policy and system.

Findings relating to the theme of language and identity are interesting, in that, all the participants say they identify first with their mother tongue languages before they mention other the languages in their language use repertoire. This is consistent with the Sudanese attitudes to their languages and cultures, which is characterised by strong attachment. The dominated central government's idea that Sudanese should identify with Arabic as their sole national language and Islam as their sole culture is very unpopular among the participants in the research interviews in this study.

The significance of the findings on role of language policy in exclusion is that the policy of Arabicisation as implemented by the central government since independence marginalises the indigenous languages in the Southern Sudan, and in the other regions

in the North, and excludes their speakers from sharing in the country's power and other resources. The central government seems to have established an institutionalised policy and system through which exclusion or empowerment is carried out. It is noted that too much control from the centre has resulted in the now ending civil war and in the expected exercise of self-determination by Southern Sudan after six year interim period.

As far as development role of the non-indigenous languages are concerned, education has been elitist since independence. These languages are used by a tiny minority of the educated groups amongst the population, so the majority of the ordinary people in the cities and peasants in the rural areas have not witnessed any social change, brought about by means of language, in the form of modernisation of their traditional ways of living since independence.

The North-South dichotomy in relation to language use for everyday communication and for official purposes, consideration of language as a social resource with roles in identification, and development, show that any future language policy formulation, planning and implementation has to take the characteristics of the societies and the factors operating in them into account. It is my contention that a comprehensive educational language policy would not only solve the historical demand or claim of the South to a language policy that guarantees the development and use of its indigenous languages, but such an overarching policy at the level of central government would solve the emerging educational language issues in the marginalised areas of Northern Sudan which have joined the South in the struggle for socio-political, cultural, and linguistic rights from the central government.

Chapter 9

Conclusion: Towards a Comprehensive Educational Language Policy in Sudan

9.1. Introduction

After examining in the foregoing chapters the historical events and processes which largely explain the current language situation, the language behaviour of the Sudanese people; and after discussing the current language policy in Sudan, I now need to utilise the ideas or findings, knowledge and experience in the foregoing discussions to consider proposals for a future educational language policy for Sudan. Chapter 9 therefore focuses on putting together guiding principles, ideas and materials from current literature which are needed for the formulation and development of a comprehensive educational language policy in Sudan that would accord important roles to indigenous Sudanese languages, particularly in Southern Sudan. The analyses and discussions, especially in Chapter 6 through 8 where the current language policy and issues arising from it are intensively discussed, are important for achieving this objective. It is my contention that time is now right to design such a policy. In the context of the post-colonial period in Africa, 50 years of Sudan's independence is time long enough to rethink the nation's educational language policy. I say this because unlike the situation in the recent past, there are fundamental political changes in the country, in the form of the recent Sudanese peace agreement, referred to in the foregoing chapters as the CPA, even though the new order has to undergo the test of time. Therefore, conditions that would have positive results for educational language policy in Sudan seem to have been created by the peace agreement. To begin with, nevertheless, the adoption and promotion of the language policy proposed in this thesis will depend on the response of the central government, or Government of National Unity in the interim period. Secondly, the part to be played by the Government of Southern Sudan in particular (including state authorities) will be crucial for the success of the future educational language policy. The relevant research question needs to be reiterated here: After the post-independence imposition of Arabisation policy in Southern Sudan and the apparent failure of the 1975 Southern Regional language, what opportunities are there for Sudan to evolve a comprehensive educational language policy that allows a role for indigenous languages? Before responding to issues involved in this question it is useful to highlight contemporary

legal and constitutional documents relevant to language policy and planning, particularly those legal frameworks addressing language policies in post-colonial and post-liberation contexts. The aim is to locate this study's conclusions and recommendations for an alternative educational language policy in Sudan.

9.2. Contemporary Outlooks on Language Policy Issues

Literature on contemporary African perspectives indicate that there has been no lack of debates and arguments in support of language policies that promote the development of African languages since most countries in the continent achieved independence over the last 50 years (Muthwii, 2002; p 78). What has been lacking, asserts this scholar, is action on the side of the independent African governments. Three outstanding legal, political and academic oriented documents on language policy in Africa which are relevant to this thesis are replete with very good ideas on language policy and planning. These are:

- The 1986 Language Plan of Action for Africa (Bamgbose, 2000, pp 119-126; see Appendix 10)
- The Language Provisions in South Africa's Constitution (ibid, pp127-128; see Appendix 12)
- The Asmara Declaration of January 2000 (Blommaert, 2001; see also Appendix 11).

Action to be taken in order to realise those ideas, whether the declarations can be made viable in the first place given the linguistic, political and economic conditions of individual countries (e.g. Blommaert, 2001), should open those declarations for scrutiny. The minimalist approach I am taking in using the former OAU (now AU) and Asmara declarations, for example, is that they can be an eye opener and awareness raisers regarding the plight of indigenous languages for new generations of Africans.

While these documents and the discussion that could go into them contain invaluable materials that enhance the argument in this concluding chapter, space limitations means that I can only acknowledge their importance in the main text but due to their importance I have placed them in the appendix section in the thesis. The Asmara

Declaration builds on the Language Plan of Action for Africa. The latter is an OAU (now AU) document meant to be a framework for language policy formulation and development by member states as it prescribes in three parts the aims, means and principles; priorities as well as programme of action. The Asmara Declaration is premised on the language rights paradigm, and therefore adds to Skutnabb-Kangas' (1988; 2000) and Phillipson's (1988; 1992) debate over minority language rights in education discussed in Chapter 2. As for the Language Provisions in the South Africa's Constitution, it is a useful model of a legal document as basis for language policy formulation in a multilingual country where language rights in education were denied. In this sense it is similar to the 1975 language policy formulation of the former Southern Region of Sudan. The extracts on language policy debate in the defunct People's Regional Assembly in Southern Sudan in 1974 (see Appendix 6) are interesting as they express similar language policy attitudes in Southern today. The theme in the Assembly debate was 're-introduction of English' in the education system in the Southern Sudan after the 1972 peace agreement with the North. The policy that emerged as discussed in Chapter 6 and 7, however, aimed at giving equal chances to Arabic and English, but lesser role to local languages. Even more so, the context in which the South African model was made—post-civil war, makes the provisions similar to those in the CPA and the Interim National Constitution of Sudan.

I should add a couple of important critical insights here in connection with the issue of language rights, especially as we are moving to the conclusion of the thesis. One is that, as Blommaert (e.g. 1996; 1999; 2001, 2005), Tollefson (1991; 1995); Roy-Campbell (2001), Martin-Jones (1989); as well as Granville, et. al. (1998); Kamwangamalu (2004) and Rubagumya (2004) suggest ideological, political and economic motives are behind language policy prescriptions even if this premise is not explicitly stated. But once it is internalised, it leads to rationalisation and attitudes exhibited in the writings of Brutt-Griffler (2002, cited in Rubagumya, *ibid*) which implies that Anglo-phone Africans made choices to learn English.

In the context of this study, the language policy debate in 1974 in the former Regional Assembly in Southern Sudan illustrate the ideology internalisation point made by Martin-Jones (1989) for example. Both advocates of return of English medium and those who called for Arabic to continue now that it was in the Southern schools show

the extent of ideological conditioning, albeit without them being aware. Honourable Joshua Dau Diu, the motion mover concluded his motion thus:

“When you introduce English you are introducing the former system of education which no one would doubt that it was quite superior. We wish our children to enjoy what we have enjoyed” (SIL Report, 1975; see Appendix 6).

Appealing to the House to be realistic, the proponent of Arabic medium education, Honourable Lawrence Lual Lual expressed similar feelings:

“I had one time thought that English be introduced as medium of instruction. But now I came to this conclusion: Things have changed, Mr Speaker. ...One reason of these changes was that during the 17 years civil war English was gradually removed and Arabic became the medium of instruction in primary and junior secondary schools” (ibid).

The issue of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991), Tollefson (1991; 1995), and of economic power or economic considerations (Kamwangamalu, 2004) as well as globalisation in language choices (Rubagumya, 2004) are implied in that debate. These issues attend the current language situation in Southern Sudan today as the examples cited above show. A great deal of awareness campaign on language issues could make a difference. Let us first examine Sudan’s language provisions in the post-civil war period in order to see how they might shape future language policy.

9.3. Language Provisions in the CPA and INC

The conclusion of this thesis has coincided with the era of peace in Sudan. Sudanese national consensus on a future comprehensive national language policy from where language in education policies should emerge is therefore not longer an unrealistic expectation. The CPA on which the Interim National Constitution is based appears to provide a rare opportunity to realise such a policy. The recent document on language issues issued after the conclusion of a ‘Power Sharing Protocol’ between the Government of Sudan and SPLM contains relevant language articles which I explain below as a contribution of legal document relevant to this thesis. What I regarded as relevant Sudanese founding provisions or general principles for a future language in education policy formulation are included under Section 2.8 ‘Language’ and as part of ‘Institutions at the National Level’ section of the original ‘Power Sharing Protocol’ in the CPA. I regard this location of the language provisions in the agreement important because for the first time in the history of Sudan the language articles are anchored to

a major political and legal structure or programme. The success or failure of this programme in turning the provisions into a viable policy should reflect the success or failure of that programme. Below is the full range of the founding principles for future language policy in Sudan as they appear in the CPA. The articles:

- “2.8.1 All the indigenous languages are national languages which shall be respected, developed and promoted.
- 2.8.2 Arabic language is the widely spoken national language in the Sudan.
- 2.8.3 Arabic, as a major language at the national level, and English shall be the official working languages of the national government business and languages of instruction for higher education.
- 2.8.4 In addition to Arabic and English, the legislature and any sub-national level of government may adopt any other national language(s) as additional official working language(s) at its level.
- 2.8.5 The use of either language at any level of government or education shall not be discriminated against” (Sudan Government/SPLM, 2004: 29)⁵.

These principles contain sufficient provisions on which to base a language policy, and indicate a promising start on the way to formulation of elaborate language policy articles in the Interim National Constitution of the National Unity Government of Sudan, for the ongoing interim period, which I now also explain here. The Interim National Constitution language provisions state that:

1. “All indigenous languages of the Sudan are national languages and shall be respected, developed and promoted.
2. Arabic is a widely spoken national language in the Sudan.
3. Arabic, as a major language at the national level and English shall be the official working languages of the national government and the languages of instruction for higher education.
4. In addition to Arabic and English, the legislature of any sub-national level of government may adopt any other national language as an additional official working language at its level.
5. There shall be no discrimination against the use of either Arabic or English at any level of government or stage of education” (Sudan Government, Interim National Constitution, 2005).

⁵ Based on Protocol on Power Sharing between the Government of Sudan (GoS) and Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) signed in Naivasha, Kenya, on 26 May 2004.

These guiding principles for formulation of future language policies seem to contrast with the one they replaced or are in the process of replacing. The following examples of past language policy articles in the national constitutions illustrate this point. The so-called permanent constitution of the National Congress government before the CPA, which was promulgated in 1998, contains only one item on language in 'Part 1 titled: 'The State Directives and Principles'. Principle or Article 3 on 'Language' states that:

“Arabic is the official language in the Republic of the Sudan; and the state shall allow the development of other local and international languages” (Sudan Government, Constitution, 1998, English version of original in Arabic).

The provision on language in this constitution was based on Constitutional Decree No 14 which was incorporated into the National Constitution, authorising the implementation of the 1997 so-called 'Khartoum Peace Agreement' signed between the Sudan Government and breakaway factions of the SPLM/A. The 1997 Khartoum Agreement language provision states that:

“Arabic is the official language of the Sudan. English shall be the second language. The Federal Government shall strive to develop the other languages” (Sudan Government, Constitution, 1998:12).

The article on language sounds more like a repeat or adoption of the language and culture provisions in the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 cited in the discussion of the 1975 Southern Regional language policy in Chapter 6. What is interesting in these two language articles is the vague reference to the apparently conditional development by the state of 'other local and international languages' to be developed by the Sudanese state. This reference is even vaguer in the second version as it refers to 'other languages', without specifying or identifying the languages.

The above documents as bases of language policy in the specific countries represent two examples of the role of legal frameworks or constitutions in empowering the development of indigenous languages and cultures. Writing about the importance of constitutions as capacity building legal frameworks for indigenous languages' role in development in post-colonial African countries, Okombo (2001) argues that:

“Since constitutional provision fortifies such capacities, it is important and necessary that our national constitutions recognise and spell out our language rights” (Okombo: 2001:18).

It is for this reason of recognition of citizens' language rights that one commends the belated efforts of the above legal frameworks relating to language rights of citizens in Africa, which until recently have been denied. The examples of language provisions in the constitutional and legal structures of the two countries above are, however, not perfect and may not provide solutions to every language problem in the respective countries. But as Okombo (2001:19) puts it national constitutions serve "to fortify acknowledged people's needs and rights in the use of languages," leaving the actual realisation of the citizens language needs and rights to be identified and defined in relation to the sociolinguistic character of particular nations or communities.

As the South African Founding Provisions are being translated into language in education policies, among other related public policies that the provisions should serve, similar developments may be hoped for in the case of post-peace Sudan.

While we await the moment to enact the above Sudanese principles on language on the ground in the near future, there is no reason why in an academic exercise such as this, one cannot suggest or recommend a broad basis for the kind of language policy in education that is likely to serve Sudan as a whole and Southern Sudan in particular in the coming peaceful period. Unlike the South African post-Apartheid situation, the Sudanese peace era is characterised by a six-year interim period, pending a referendum in which the Southern Sudanese will decide whether they wish to remain in a united Sudan or secede and form an independent state. This intervening period notwithstanding, it is my view that the proposals I am suggesting below for a language policy framework would provide a good basis, after the outcome of the referendum, for future modification and improvement. The most important point to be noted here is that the above language provisions in the Sudanese peace agreement already suggest an uncertain future or in fact an end, after some 50 years of resistance, to the post-independence policy of Arabicisation and its ultimate goal of a one-nation-one-culture nation in Sudan. As discussed in Chapter 8, the attendant implications of the Arabicisation policy for indigenous languages and cultures in the Southern Sudan in particular and in the other marginalised non-Arabic speaking regions of the country are huge. In this sense only a viable educational language policy in the interim period,

which should be developed into a robust structure in the future might redress the impact.

So what kind of language policy framework for education and learning can guarantee an official role for indigenous languages in the post-peace period of reconstruction and nation building and beyond, and which can ensure the development of the essential linguistic, cultural and social welfare for all Sudanese citizens? To find some answer to this question I now turn to the formulation of a possible framework for a language policy in education in at the level of central government in Sudan and how this should have ramifications for similar policies at the level of particular regions of the country such as the Southern Sudan.

9.4. Towards a Comprehensive Language Policy for Sudan

The argument in this thesis is for a language policy in education that guarantees the development and use of the indigenous languages and cultures in the Sudan through the educational system, especially in Southern Sudan the focus of the study. Notwithstanding the post-independence imposition of Arabic, as the sole language of national communication in the country, the study, for reasons explained in Chapters 3 and 4 specifically, regards multilingualism, along with multiculturalism as an unavoidable reality in the Sudan language situation. The study recognises that this reality has been, as it were, covered up by the Arabic-speaking ruling elite who promote the spread of the alternative ideology of Arabism, based on monolingual ethos. Since independence in 1956 the elite has dominated post-independence central governments policies in Sudan. While this negative post-independence phenomenon characterised the neo-colonial regimes in countries like Sudan, South Africa and Namibia, it is interesting to point out that reversal of apparently established language policy have accompanied the end of such neo-colonial periods in these countries. New language in education policy developments, which have increased internationally and at the level of Africa, to be specific and relevant, seems to have forced this turn of events. These developments have had a marked influence on this research, carried out in the context of Sudan, since I proposed the thesis and maintained its central argument throughout the development of the study. This argument is simply stated in terms of the need for a comprehensive language policy based on the multilingual

realities of the country. The bulk of the analyses and discussions which inform these developments have been carried out in the foregoing chapters.

Here, it is my contention that based on the findings and observations in these analyses and discussions, it is now possible and practicable, in the light of the recent Comprehensive Peace Agreement, and on the basis of general principles laid out in the AU and other international documents to formulate a comprehensive national language policy in education in Sudan as a whole. By extension the formulation of such a policy should open the way for the construction of a similar language in education policy in Southern Sudan, the focus of this study. It is worth mentioning that as per the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and Interim National Constitution, Southern Sudan is an autonomous region in Sudan during the six-year interim period.

9.4.1 Basis for Formulating an Alternative Language Policy

The bases contained in this study on which future language policy in education can be suggested include:

- a) The recapitulation of the stated aim of the study which is summed up as: in recognition of the linguistically diverse reality of the Sudanese language situation, the development and use of indigenous Sudanese languages in all spheres of national life, communication, socio-economic, political, cultural and linguistic development are paramount. In short one major focus of this study is that language status planning is based on language situation, and is part and parcel of language policy formulation as discussed in Chapter 5. The reminders about the conception of status planning in the theoretical principles and frameworks discussed in the said chapter are clearly displayed and explained in both the Haugen model in Chapter 5, and Nyati-Ramahobo's comprehensive model of language planning in the same chapter.
- b) Theoretical ideas should inform language policy and planning: The principles and concepts such as UNESCO's initiatives on mother tongue education, Skutnabb-Kangas's notion of linguistic human rights discussed earlier in this Chapter, as well as legal frameworks presented by AOU, the Asmara Declaration, as well as the Sudan's own CPA/INC language provisions.
- c) The contrast between modernisation and dependency theories also provide useful analytic frameworks for the discussion of Arabicisation and its ramifications on the

indigenous Sudanese languages and cultures in the Southern Sudan during the post-independence period.

d) Above all the fact that Sudan's language situation is characterised by diversity and multilingualism not reflected in its post-independence language policy therefore questions its nation or nation-state posture. In my conclusion on that discussion in Chapter 2, I place Sudan within 'state' rather than 'nation-state' category because of the linguistic and cultural realities in the country which a language policy should address for it to be viable and to contribute to the various aspects of development, human, socio-economic, political, and educational.

The point in this recapitulation is that language policy formulation is guided by several factors and conditions obtaining in a language situation, especially in multilingual contexts in Africa. Bamgbose (2000) describes the context of language planning in Africa as having to deal with several background factors including

“multilingualism, the colonial legacy, the role of education as an agent of social change, high incidence of illiteracy, and concerns for communication, national integration and development” (Bamgbose: 2000:99).

This observation seems to capture the whole picture regarding the background to language policy and planning in multilingual countries. In a typology of three examples of these countries examined in Chapter 2, Sudan falls under the type of multilingual countries with one dominant language. The other two models of multilingual countries are those with more than one dominant language and those with no dominant language. Nevertheless this is not a sufficient condition for the Sudanese state to impose a one nation, one language approach after independence as we saw in Chapter 6 and 7.

9.5. The Existing Language Policy Models in Sudan

9.5.1. The Monolingual Model

The existing Arabicisation policy exemplifies this model. It was instituted after independence, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. As it is premised on the control model of state governance (see Lesch, 1998), and on neoclassical notion of dealing with language issues in society (Tollefson, 1991), the monolingual model does not

take into consideration the context of language planning as shown in the two conceptual frameworks adopted from Haugen (1987) and Nyati-Ramahobo (1998). Nor is the Arabicisation model underpinned by the other major principles and concepts discussed in the two conceptual frameworks, among them the need to carry out planning, fact-finding and evaluation activities. The monolingual Arabicisation model however tends to perpetuate dependency and underdevelopment in all its forms including cultural and linguistic, due to its being sustained by the political ideology and power of the state at the central government level. According to the foregoing language provisions in the Protocols on Power Sharing in the Sudan peace agreement, the monolingual model has to be replaced, at least during the interim period, in the face of the new political dispensation in Sudan.

9.5.2. The Multilingual Models

The discussion in Chapter 6 of the 1975 regional language in education policy of the former autonomous Southern Region of Sudan, provide sufficient reference materials for future language policy proposals here. However, all the three frameworks indicate several major weak points that require addressing in order to make the future models of language policy and planning viable and functional frameworks in the multilingual environment they purport to serve. This task is now necessary considering the contemporary local (Sudanese and African) and international perspectives discussed earlier, particularly on the role of indigenous languages and cultures in national socio-economic, cultural and linguistic, and political developments. I identify three major weaknesses in the existing language policy formulations for Southern Sudan. These are:

- (1) Basing the policies almost entirely on non-indigenous languages, that is to say English and Arabic. This is reminiscent of linguistic and cultural dependency, and by implication the economic dependency that has plagued post-colonial Sub-Saharan Africa, since the people concerned are denied language rights by the ruling elites.
- (2) Limiting the use of the indigenous languages to 2-3 years of primary education is too little to be of any help in the acquisition and learning of concepts and skills for life in the rural areas when, since, as it almost always followed, the majority of students drop out after the primary level.

(3) Splitting the language policy up into separate entities to accommodate Arabic, English and to a lesser extent the vernacular languages. This resulted, as we have concluded from the discussion in Chapter 7, in the running of two confusing educational systems known locally as Arabic and English Patterns, as they are defined by language of instruction. It is my contention that this was a recipe for a deeper language based problem since the education system divided the pupils/students and by implication the Southern Sudanese society, along the lines of foreign and non-indigenous languages of instruction at a very early age. This situation also explains the extent of the malaise in the Arabicisation policy, not only for the Southern languages and cultures, but also for the sub-systems that use those languages.

It is therefore worth reiterating the point that the former regional language policy, as pointed out in the discussion in Chapter Seven, was not uniformly implemented either in the former single Southern Region (1972-1983) or in the different mini Southern regions or states after the demise of the autonomous Southern Region in 1983. The same applied to the revised and re-formulated language policy in the former Equatoria Region after 1983 re-division of the Southern Region into mini regions mentioned above. Although the two Southern language planning models took into consideration the social cultural, political and other environmental factors, there was doubt as to whether the four language planning processes in the Nyati-Ramahobo (1998) model were properly considered. Considering the observations I made above regarding the apparent confusion brought about by the variation within the system based on the languages of instruction, there is a need for proper language planning to be carried out at the national level to allow for an equally efficient and effective language policy framework at the regional or state level. Principles of language policy implementation and evaluation of any future language policy in education must be strictly adhered to.

I must also reiterate here the two major points of criticism of the multilingual policies, which until the recent changes brought about by the Sudanese peace agreement, have been associated with Southern Sudan during the post-independence period. One is the fact that the Southern authorities considered the formulation of language policies as regional enterprises without critically questioning the role of the central government in such vital projects. The outcomes were obvious considering the lack of financial,

legal and general public support for the policies, due to lack of public awareness about language issues in education, and therefore absence of their involvement or participation in such programmes. The second is very much dependence on the good will of foreign aid for the implementation of language policy programmes. Although the role played by the Summer Institute of Linguistics is commendable and has led to many positive changes due to their contribution in the implementation of the Southern regional language policy, more efforts should have been placed on securing own financial basis, and speedy development of local human resources. The need for skilled personnel, for example to train teachers and produce local educational materials was great.

Taking into consideration the many loopholes and weaknesses I identified in the existing monolingual and multilingual models of language policy and planning in Sudan, it is necessary now to consider proposals for a more adequate and viable language policy and planning framework that should fulfil the principles laid out in the language dimension of the recent peace agreement.

9.6. Suggested Comprehensive Language Policy for Sudan

On the basis of the analyses and discussions in the foregoing chapters, some significant points of which I recapitulated in 9.4.1 above, I will now suggest a more inclusive educational language policy for Sudan as an alternative to the existing post-independence Arabicisation policy. But first let me elaborate on the points raised to enhance the recapitulation and provide the recommendations with a framework already developed in the foregoing chapters.

The historical and current developments in the language situation in Sudan and Southern Sudan in particular, as indicated in the discussions in Chapters 3 and 4, show linguistic, cultural and political diversities as important features of the Sudanese society. Findings of the language surveys in Northern Sudan (Jernudd, 1979) and Southern Sudan (SIL, 1975), in addition to recent sociolinguistic studies (Miller and Abu-Manga, 1992) may indicate the way forward for Sudan in terms of language policy in education. The discussion of CLP concepts in Chapter 5, for example, historical-structural approach to language policy; and the concepts of governmentality and dependency, as they are based on power relations between the centre and

periphery of governments, are insightful for the conclusions of this study. The response of Sudanese participants in this study to the imposition of the Arabicisation policy after independence is significant. Most informants said they would have chosen a comprehensive language policy for the country. The imposition of Arabicisation can therefore be viewed in terms of unequal power relations between the North and the South, as the major political contenders in Sudan. The discussion in Chapter 6 shows that the educational language policy outcomes of the post-independence Arabicisation policy include: loss of language rights to Southern Sudanese, subtractive learning (both of language and content), and likely occurrence of linguistic genocide, or deliberate killing of the indigenous Sudanese languages. Again most informants favour a language policy that is comprehensive enough as to accord roles to the local languages along side the LWC. Not least, the impact of the Arabicisation policy in the Southern Sudan education system in particular, as discussed in Chapter 7, include poor educational performance of teachers and students over the years. But the implications of the policy for various aspects of language utility in society, as seen through analysis of informants' views on several themes such as language use, and language as a social, identity and development resource, carried out in Chapter 8 are both insightful and informative for the conclusions of this study. Against the backdrop of these findings, I outline below some recommendations for a comprehensive language policy in education for Sudan at the level of central or federal government as well as regional (e.g. Government of Southern Sudan) and state governments. These recommendations are also informed by the language provisions in the CPA and INC, the OAU Language Plan of Action for Africa, the Asmara Declaration, and several other frameworks discussed earlier.

9.6.1. Language Policy at the Federal Government Level

(1) On the basis of the findings summarised above and on the strength of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the Interim National Constitution which incorporate the language provisions in the Power Sharing Protocols, I now, through this thesis, makes the following recommendations on an alternative language policy in education for Sudan.

1) The central government, which is currently the Government of National Unity (GONU) should take the necessary steps to formulate a language policy that is

sufficiently comprehensive to accommodate both the official languages named in the provisions, as well as pay due attention to all the other Sudanese national languages.

2) The GONU should implement the national language policy as an umbrella structure from under which regional and sub-regional language policies could emerge. This should be done by empowering, encouraging and supporting the states or regional governments in every part of the country to formulate appropriate language policies including language in education policies.

3) The GONU should form a National Language Policy Board, charged with the implementation, monitoring, assessment and evaluation of language policy and language planning activities.

4) The GONU should provide substantial financial support to all the regional and state governments, where most of the language planning activities would have to be carried out, towards the realisation of both the overarching and the local language policies in the education systems at the respective levels of governments.

5) The central government should encourage and support financially the national universities which incorporate language policy and planning faculties, as well as other institutions interested in language research, in order for these institutions to initiate and carry out research projects which promote the development of indigenous languages and cultures and their role in national life.

9.6.2. Language Policy at the Regional and State Level

1) The regional governments, for example, the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS), as provided in the current peace agreement, and state governments in the country as a whole, should formulate appropriate language policies in education, derived from the comprehensive central government language policy, while taking into account local needs and concerns .

2) Considering the multilingual nature of the Sudanese regions, it is strongly recommended that the language policy makers adopt the three-language model. In

Southern Sudan these include a vernacular, Arabic (both standard and colloquial versions) and English.

3) In the Southern Sudan, where there exists a tradition of language policy planning based on indigenous group languages, this recommendation should translate easily and immediately into a functional three-language model. Pupils in primary schools of ages ranging between 6 to 14 (primary education in Sudan runs for 8 years under the current system) in Central Equatoria State (or Bahr El Jebel State), for example, should be able to learn in the medium of Bari language, (a group language for six ethnic groups discussed in Chapters 3 and 4), while learning English and Arabic as subjects. The difference between this recommendation and the existing practices (see the description of the South Sudan language policies in education discussed earlier) lies in the following insight. Gradually, and as teachers are being trained, curricula developed and learning materials produced, the use of indigenous languages, especially those recommended at the Rejaf Language Conference, which are relatively developed in terms of writing systems and basic learning materials and literature, should not be limited only to the first 2-3 years of primary education. Rather, the development and use of those languages in the whole of the education system should be encouraged.

4) In addition to the financial support from the central government and the Government of Southern Sudan, the respective state governments should raise funds locally to enable them to contribute financially towards the institutionalisation and implementation of language policies at the local level.

5) The respective regional and state governments should form language policy and planning bodies or councils at their level to help in raising public awareness on language policy and in monitoring the implementation of the respective language policies locally.

6) The respective regional and state governments should encourage the development and use of the indigenous languages and cultures, not only in education, but also in other spheres of public life in their communities. Use of indigenous languages for the

purposes of rural and community development should be accorded top priority by the local authorities.

7) The state authorities to carry out inspections and audits on language policy and on the provision of education in general.

9.7. What the Recommendations Mean for Southern Sudan

It is worth recalling at this stage in the thesis the significance of the notion of decentralised language policy and planning (Tollefson, 1981), and its implementation in multilingual societies like Southern Sudan. As language policy making and its implementation usually takes place against the backdrop of several factors, recognising these factors will facilitate the work of those assigned to deal with them at the local level. UNESCO, as we know, not only recommends mother-tongue education, but also suggests a gradual approach to the implementation of indigenous language policies in multilingual countries. Taking the case of language groups into account, the UNESCO report recommends that implementing authorities

“will naturally want to deal with those (language situations) offering least difficulty first, gradually encompassing the more difficult as time and funds permit” (UNESCO, 1953).

Implementation of the language policy recommended above in the context of Southern Sudan group-languages may be feasible if geographical, social, linguistic and educational factors are taken into consideration. The geographical factor appears helpful in the case of Southern Sudan, as the group-languages are mostly distributed in contiguous areas (Map 4). As the results of SIL language survey of Southern Sudan indicate, the Bari-group language, for example, occupies the central part of the southern Nile Valley, the Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk languages are located in the central and north western Nile Valley. The same goes for the Lotuko, Toposa group-languages in the east and Zande, Moru, Ndogo in the west of the Nile Valley. The most important point here is the possibility, in principle, of successful decentralised language policy whose implementation can be planned according to the location of the major group languages.

Social and economic factors will play a big part in the success of language policy implementation in the Southern region. Positive attitudes of the people in the respective communities towards the indigenous languages indicated in the perceptions of the informants in the interviews, plus the fact that they see economic benefits from the use of the local languages are likely to contribute a great deal to the success of mother-tongue education in Southern Sudan in particular.

The linguistic and educational outcomes will be affected by the extent of the area where the language is spoken, whether it has a writing system, trained teachers, learning materials and so on; and with the size of the educated population. The existence of governmental and non-government organisations or initiatives supporting the development of the indigenous languages, are also crucial to the success of future educational language policy in Southern Sudan. Efforts should therefore be exerted to form and invite such helpful hands to facilitate language policy implementation.

I am optimistic about the success of language policy in education in the Southern Sudan that accords a role to the indigenous languages. This is because I strongly feel that most of the above mentioned conditions can be met. The major Southern group-languages, as I mentioned earlier, have behind them a history and tradition of having been once the languages of instruction in village primary schools, and have therefore undergone some measure of development, however limited. When we add to this the distribution of the speakers of these languages in homogenous communities or states, districts, etc, the chances of successful decentralised language policy development like that carried out after the Rejaf Language Conference are good.

Nor should we forget the fact that any future language policy development and implementation in the South will be determined and guided by the spirit and letter of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. This agreement is composed of six protocols, including the Power and Wealth Sharing and Security Arrangement Protocols. The language provisions are located in the Power Sharing Protocol and it is clear that future language policies will depend on the realisation of legal frameworks mentioned earlier. It is worth mentioning that the implementation of Arabicisation in the Southern Sudan after independence could not have lasted or achieved any measure of success in the South without the support of the various military regimes in Khartoum,

including the pre-peace agreement NCP government. Although it is still consolidating, the Sudanese CPA seems to have built-in guarantees not to allow any more the imposition of Arabicisation. What all this means is that the success of a future language policy in education in Southern Sudan is linked in an organic way to that of the 2005 Peace Agreement.

9.8. The Way Forward

Southern Sudan deserves support by way of encouraging the development of its abundant and varied linguistic and cultural resources. Awareness raising statements such as those in the OAU (now AU) Language Plan of Action for Africa and The Asmara Declaration are good food for thought in a country where even university graduates are conditioned to believing their languages are 'dialects', or in Sudanese colloquial Arabic 'rutanat'. The classical Arabic attitude to 'rutana' or dialect is that it is like language of birds, hence a non-language in the sense Arabic is. In the minds of most of the younger generation who are also less informed about language matters, 'language' is English, French, Arabic, but not Bari, Dinka, Nuer, Zande and other indigenous Sudanese languages, some of which are spoken by millions and thousands of people. Conducting further academic research of a much wider scope than this one, on language policy and planning, as well as on related disciplines is necessary for building on this study.

I have ventured to investigate the Sudanese language situation, focusing on Southern Sudan, as it stands today. But the study was limited in scope by several constraining circumstances in which it was designed and carried out. Because the success of future language policy and planning in education depends on change in attitudes to language, further research focused on raising awareness about the rights of indigenous languages in education and in public life could be very helpful in combating current negative attitudes to those languages and cultures in Sudan in general and Southern Sudan in particular. Positive attitudes to indigenous languages and cultures are vital and needed and should be cultivated as these languages have a role to play: They can contribute to human and socio-economic development. Besides these positive outcomes of the usefulness of indigenous languages, I agree with Okombo (2001) when he attaches the survival of Africans, like that of other human communities, on their languages. With lasting peace and security in the country, two key factors for

realisation of human and other aspects of development, I see clearly my part in participating in the creation of favourable conditions for the realisation of the vision and the implied goals and objectives I have stated above through promotion of language policy that accords a role to the indigenous Sudanese languages.

Appendix 1

List of commonly occurring acronyms and abbreviations

1. SPLM: Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement
2. SSLM: Southern Sudan Liberation Movement
3. SLM: Sudan Liberation Movement (Darfur)
4. NIF: National Islamic Front
5. NCP: National Congress Party
6. AU: African Union (formerly OAU: Organisation of African Unity)
7. UN: United Nations
8. UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
9. UNICEF: United Nations International Children's Fund
10. UNDP: United Nations Development Programme
11. WFP: World Food Programme
12. WHO: World Health Organisation
13. NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation
14. NSEA: New Sudan Educational Association
15. NSCC: New Sudan Council of Churches
16. LWC: Language of Wider Communication
17. CLP: Critical Language Policy
18. CP: Critical Pedagogy
19. SIL: Summer Institute of Linguistics
20. HEC: High Executive Council
21. RMOE: Regional Ministry of Education
22. IRL: Institute of Regional Languages
23. CDC: Curriculum Development Centre
24. AET: Africa Educational Trust
25. SBA: School Baseline Assessment
26. GDP/GNP: Gross Domestic Product/Gross National Product
27. GONU: Government of National Unity
28. GOSS: Government of Southern Sudan
29. CPA: Comprehensive Peace Agreement
30. INC: Interim National Constitution
31. LHRs: Linguistic Human Rights

Appendix 2

AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH INTERVIEWS

Dear friend,

My name is Henry Wani Rondyang and I am Southern Sudanese. At the moment I am studying as a doctoral student at the Institute of Education, University of London. I am currently conducting research interviews for my doctoral thesis among Sudanese educationalists, teachers, clergy and religious leaders, university lecturers, intellectuals, managers of community organisations, and so on.

I would like to thank you in advance for your co-operation and participation in my research. I would like you to understand the following points, and I ask you for your **consent** to take part in the interviews.

1. Your participation is entirely voluntary
2. You are free to refuse to answer any question(s) in the course of the interview
3. You are free to withdraw at any time

The interviews will be strictly confidential. Excerpts from the interviews might be made part of my thesis, but under no circumstance will your real name or any identifying characteristics be included in the thesis.

If you agree to the above conditions please sign this form.

Thank you

Yours truly,

Henry Wani Rondyang
Doctoral Research Student
Institute of Education
University of London, UK.

Appendix 3

Interview Guide

Interviews in this qualitative research on language policy and planning in education in Sudan are utilised based on the assumption that they may offer solutions to some of the language problems of the country and/or of the regions and communities involved. The themes in this interview guide have been formulated out of a revised pilot guide. The new guide seems sufficiently prepared to generate relevant questions and responses on current issues on educational language policy and practice in Sudan. The new themes contain several questions similar to those found in the pilot guide. So, the old pilot interview guide was not useless after all. The problem with the old guide is that it does not sufficiently reflect the theoretical basis or the focus of this study, which as explained in conceptual-framework section, is to do with the role of the historical and structural factors in influencing language policy and practice in Sudan.

A. Language Use Patterns of Sudanese in Various Domains

1. What language(s) or dialect(s) do you usually speak at home at the moment?
2. What language(s) or dialect(s) did you first use as first language or mother tongue before you went to school?
3. What is the language or languages spoken in your immediate wider community? (Prompt: a major community language or a lingua franca of the area).
4. How would you describe your ability in understanding and using this language(s)? (Prompts: Excellent; Very Good; Good; Fairly Good; Poor).
5. What language(s) or dialect(s) do you use for communication at work? (Probe: Please comment if those languages do not include your first language or mother tongue).
6. What languages or dialects do your children usually speak:
 - a) Among themselves at home?
 - b) Outside the home, at school and with friends?(Probe: Please comment if the language(s) do not include the child's mother tongue or first language).

B. Language Learning and Language Skills

1. Which language(s) were the media of instruction for your education at these levels:
 - a) Primary School?
 - b) Secondary School?
 - c) Higher or any post-school education?(Probe: To find out whether the participant's mother tongue or a vernacular was one of the media of instruction, and at what level, and to find out why it was not a medium of instruction).
2. How would you describe your experience in learning and using that language/those languages? (Probe: Especially a language other than your mother tongue).
3. What are your observations about availability of trained teachers at each of the educational levels mentioned in question one?
4. What are your observations about the availability of textbooks and other teaching materials in all subjects?
5. How would you describe your ability and level of proficiency in the language(s) you have learned through formal education? (Probe: Use the four language communication skills-listening, speaking, reading and writing-as criteria for assessing ability and proficiency: Excellent; Very Good; Good; Fairly Good; Poor).
6. Which language(s) are the media of instruction for your children in the educational stages they are in or have completed? (Probe: To find out if the child's mother tongue or their vernacular is one of the media of instruction, and at what level).

7. Do you have any observations on language learning experiences of your children? (Probe: Teacher training, availability of learning resources, e.g. textbooks, materials, and so on).
8. How would you describe your children's level of proficiency in the languages they have learned in the education system?

C. Attitudes of Sudanese to the Languages or Dialects Used in the Country

1. Which Sudanese language(s) or dialects do you value most? (Prompt: Please give reasons for your views).
2. Do you think there are Sudanese languages or dialects that are of less value? (Prompt: Please give reasons for your views).
3. Which of the Sudanese language(s) would you like to learn and use for everyday communication in addition to your mother tongue or first language? (Prompt: Please give reasons for your preference). (Probe: Would you recommend that for your children?).
4. Do you feel that the educational language policy in Sudan should be comprehensive and should include the indigenous (vernacular) languages? (Prompt: Please explain why if your answer is positive, and why not if negative).
5. Which language(s) would you like to be included in that future language policy? (Probe: Please explain your suggestions *in addition to Arabic/English*). (see Section E, question 5 below)
6. How would the suggested educational language policy be implemented:
 - a) As a centralised language policy and planning? (Prompt: Maintenance of much of the existing approach).
 - b) As a decentralised language policy and planning? (Prompt: A new regional approach to language policy and planning in Sudan).

D. Language and Social Identity

1. Do you feel language is the most important aspect of your social identity?
2. What are the Sudanese language(s) you identify with? (Probe: To find out whether these languages include some of the local languages).
3. What are the non-indigenous language(s) you identify with? (Prompt: Please explain any reasons why you identify with those languages).
4. Do you think the Sudanese should identify with a single language and one culture? (Prompt: Please explain reasons for your answer).
5. Would you like the Sudanese to maintain their various languages and cultures as sources of ethnic identification? (Prompt: Please give reasons for your opinions). (Probe: Does this entail implementation of a multilingual public policy?).

E. Language as a National Resource (in the sense of valuable social asset)

1. Do you feel the many languages of Sudan are a resource or a valuable asset for the Sudanese society in general?
2. Could you please tell me some of your experience in the Sudan regarding treatment of language as a social resource:
 - a) Yourself: Speaking your mother tongue, teaching it to others with the intention to pass it to next generation, and so on.
 - b) Others including government authorities: Implementing language policies that help in the development and use of mother tongues (see question 5 below).
3. From your experience, do you think the Sudanese people and the authorities value all the Sudanese languages as a national social resource?
4. If yes, to what extent does the post-independence arabicisation policy in the Sudan reflect on your observation?

5. Do you think the indigenous languages should be developed and be given a role in the educational system? (*see Section C question 5 above*)

F. The Role of Language in Social Empowerment and Exclusion

1. Do you feel that the current Arabicisation policy facilitates your involvement or participation in the affairs of the nation?
2. To what extent do you find the policy and practice in Sudan:
 - a) Inclusive and empowering you and the Sudanese people in general? (Probe: Please explain how inclusive and empowering the policy is)
 - b) Exclusive and not empowering you and the Sudanese people in general? (Probe: Please explain how exclusive and not empowering the policy is).
3. Would you describe the English-based language policy in the Southern Sudan as:
 - a) Inclusive and empowering both the Southern individuals and the masses? (Probe: Please explain how inclusive and empowering the policy is)
 - b) Exclusive and not empowering the Southern masses? (Probe: Please explain how exclusive the policy is).
4. How would you describe your experience and observations of instances of empowerment or exclusion through the Arabicisation or the English-based policy and practice in Sudan?
5. What do you see as the goal of the post-independence educational language policy in Sudan: a) Integration b) National Unity c) Assimilation d) Discrimination?
6. Do you think the Sudanese citizens in their various ethnic communities can be empowered through the implementation of a bilingual or multilingual policy in education? (Probe: A language policy that allows for the development and use indigenous languages and cultures in the education system and in other aspects of life in the society).

G. Language Policy and Development

The role of language policy in development in post-colonial countries can be explained in terms of exploitation and modernisation of the nation's economic, social, cultural, educational and linguistic resources, with focus on improvement of ways of life of the rural majority through literacy campaign and other programmes. This role could fail to achieve these goals.

1. To what extent do you think the post-independence language policies in Sudan have contributed to the development of the above-mentioned resources or structures?
2. Do you think the Arabicisation policy has accounted for the development of the areas we have identified? (Probe: Please explain the effects on the life of the majority rural citizens with reference to North and Sudan of Sudan).
3. Do you think the implementation of English-based language policy in the Southern Sudan since independence has adequately addressed the above named aspects of development?
(Prompt: please give explain the effects of this policy on the life of the majority rural citizens).
4. Do you think the indigenous languages should have a role in the development of the country?
5. What would be the scope of that role? (Probe: National in planning and in support for implementation; limited to regions or especially designated areas; limited to rural areas, etc).
6. Do you think the implementation of a bilingual or multilingual educational language policy in Sudan could contribute to:
 - a) Development oriented and meaningful education?
 - b) Accelerated literacy campaign and improvement of the social and economic life of the rural citizens?
 - c) Development and use of more Sudanese languages and cultures as resources for further socio-economic development of the various ethnic communities?

H. Personal or Biographical details

Finally, I should be grateful if you would provide some details about yourself. I assure you of confidentiality and so your personal details will only be open to this researcher. As a practical step in that direction, I will use *pseudonyms* to protect the identity of the participants in this study especially as the research topic is considered a sensitive one, especially in view of the fact that the Sudan's central government regards language policy and planning in education as a strategic national issue.

1. Your name (your real name will be replaced with a pseudonym so as to protect your identity)
2. Age or Year of birth: before 1930; 1930s; 1940s; 1950; 1960s; 1970s; 1980s
3. Male/Female
4. Marital status:
5. Occupation/Current position:
6. Previous position in the Sudan if this has changed.
7. Place of origin in Sudan: North/South
8. Country of residence.
9. Reason for residence outside the country if other than refuge from the war and conflict situation in the Sudan.
10. Would you like to comment on anything you think we have not covered in these interviews that you feel is too important to leave out?
11. Do you mind if I get in touch with you again to get more information on some questions and issues raised in these interviews?
12. Do you have any questions or final comments?

Appendix 4

Transcript of Interview with Robert Mila
Nairobi, 2nd April 2003

A: Language use patterns of Sudanese in various domains

Q: What language(s) or dialects do you speak at home at the moment?

Robert: Few languages: English, Arabic (Juba Arabic) and Moru.

Probe: Is it in that order or what?

Robert: No, not in that, at home it is Arabic, Moru and English.

Q: What language(s) did you speak before you started school?

Robert: I spoke Moru language, my mother tongue only. And then I picked up Juba Arabic and later on learned English at school. So Moru and Arabic are the languages I speak in the wider community. And the local Arabic is spoken more widely than Moru.

Q: How would you describe your ability or proficiency in the languages you speak?

Robert: My best one, the one I can rate as excellent is English, Arabic is fairly good and Moru is very good.

Prompt: Do you use these same languages at work or in the official domain?

Robert: At work it is English. I use a bit of Arabic, but English is dominant as a working language.

Prompt: Could you comment on why the language at work doesn't include your mother tongue?

Robert: This because most of the work we do here involve documents written up in English. But also the staff is mixed. We have among them Sudanese and non-Sudanese. So in order to communicate with everybody we use English. English is also the language used widely here in Kenya for writing documents, for fundraising, for meetings, and so forth. And this has been the practice for a long time.

Q: What languages are the medium of instruction of your children?

Robert: [He responds first by describing the language of the children in the schools his organisation has established] The children in the two schools use English as a medium of instruction. But one school at Bahr Wolo use Moru in the lower classes of primary school. My own children at home speak mainly Arabic, English and Kiswahili. They don't know Moru. The up-bringing is that the mothers like to speak in Arabic. Moreover, the children are growing up outside Moruland and so have missed the opportunity to speak the Moru language. So local Arabic and Kiswahili are the preferred languages. The children speak very good Swahili.

B: Language Learning and Language Skills

Q: Which language(s) were the media of instruction at you primary school, secondary and higher education levels?

Robert: At the lower primary school, Moru was the language of instruction, but as I moved up the educational levels, Moru was dropped and English was used as the medium of instruction. English became the main language of instruction. The secondary and tertiary levels were all in English.

Q: How would you describe your experience in learning the languages you have mentioned, for example did you find difficulties or did you enjoyed learning them, etc?

Robert: You are supposed to speak in English all the time. So there was something called 'the ring' you pass it to anyone whom you hear speaks in his local language in the school compound. If the ring remains with you overnight you will be punished the following morning. You are not allowed to pass it to anyone in the morning until you receive your punishment. The whole idea was that the education authorities were trying to us to learn and to speak English.

Q: What are your observations about some evidence of teacher training, teacher qualification and teacher at your time.

Robert: During my school days the teachers were good, they were well-trained teachers from teaching colleges (colleges or institutes of education). The only problem is that they were harsh people. They used to punish us severely for small mistakes.

Q: And what are your observations about the regional government implementation of education and language policies?

Robert: I did not have much contact with teaching institutions or educational institutions. This because I was far removed from anything to do with education. I was in the Attorney General Chamber, which was dealing with legal affairs. But now, as I can observe in the primary schools we are running in the liberated areas in Southern Sudan at the moment, most of the teachers who had worked for the former Regional Government are not trained. There are very few of the teachers who are trained, they lack teaching skills and as such the standard of education has dropped. It is very difficult to assess English speaking skills of the children. They are certainly not fluent in English at this stage, even those at primary 6 and 7. But you find that they speak their mother tongues, Moru or Abukaya all the time. This because the standard of teaching has dropped, and the children have not been able to master other languages very well.

Probe: What about writing? May speaking is difficult at that stage.

Robert: Well, my position as coordinator of the education programme does not extend to finding out about what students learn. I am not in position to see any students' work. I leave that to the teachers the head (masters) teachers.

Probe: Now that you have found that teachers in your schools are not trained, what are you doing about it?

Robert: We have included in-service training for teachers in our education programme. And we hire teacher trainers from the New Sudan Education Association. They go to our education project area for four weeks every holiday to provide intensive teacher training. We are getting funding for that from charity funders, and we are looking for more funds to send some of these teachers to Ugandan teacher training institutions for further training, especially teachers who are going to teach at higher levels, and to make sure the others have their standards improved so that they can teach better.

Probe: What about teaching materials, then and now?

Robert: Teaching materials were scant when we came in. There were even no syllabuses. But now the NESEA, in collaboration with the Secretariat of Education (SPLM Secretariat of Education), are developing syllabuses and textbooks which we are able to buy from them. With the development of syllabuses they also write and publish books and other learning materials. We also get textbooks and exercise books from UNICEF, and buy more others from bookshops in Uganda and Kenya, particularly for teaching at P5-P7. The SPLM education syllabuses are currently up to P4. But until the syllabuses are complete, and until these books are properly organised and established and consolidated, we still be picking things from here and there.

Q: Is there any coordination among the local and international NGOs with regard to provision of learning materials and books?

Robert: Our NGO has applied to the SPLM Secretariat of Education to be registered as one of the promoters of education in the New Sudan. Until now there is not much happening in the form of coordination on education matters. But there is an umbrella body called 'The Education Coordination Committee' under the UNICEF is at the moment carrying on the job of linking among the education providing NGOs, including the Secretariat of Education. In those meetings lots of things are developed that are common to all these NGOs. For example, new ideas are introduced, seminars and workshops are organised and new strategies are developed and shared. Here, the Secretariat of Education provides a lot of input. Then the Secretariat also meet with the donors. And they share ideas and plans before getting funds from those donors.

How do you describe your abilities in the languages you learned and used in the education system and now in your work life?

Robert: Although I started my education in the medium of English with Arabic as a subject from P1, I have lost my Arabic. Since I went for refuge in Uganda in the 1960s, I had not contact with formal written Arabic. I am now almost illiterate in Arabic. My Moru and English are good and very good. I speak and write Moru, but I work in English so I am very good in it.

Q: What is the medium of instruction of your children, and if you may comment on the level of training and qualification of their teachers?

Robert: Here in Kenya where my children attend their school, teachers are highly trained and skilful, they are also experienced. The children get good quality education. The materials are almost provided by the parents who are often asked by the school to buy what are needed for their children's learning.

Q: How would you describe the ability of your children in the languages they learn and use?

Robert: All of them are very good in Swahili. As for English it depends. Those at the lower classes are not bad.

C: Attitudes of Sudanese to languages and dialects spoken in their country

Q: Which languages or dialects do you value most?

Robert: I think it is English. Although it is foreign, it is the easy one that I need to communicate with.

Probe: Communication is one thing but valuing is another

Robert: I value my local language very much.

Probe: Why?

Robert: Because I feel it's something that belongs to us. I was born in it, I grew up in it and I identify with it.

Q: Are there Sudanese languages or dialects which you do not value?

Robert: (Laughs). Well, all languages are really important but I cannot say much about the others. I do not know them so may be I value them less because don't use them.

Q: If you were to choose and learn and use a Sudanese language or dialect other than your mother tongue or in addition to your mother tongue, which one would you learn and use for communication? Why?

Robert: I think a language that would easily bring us together as one people. I don't think it should be any of the existing Sudanese languages. I would opt for Swahili.

Probe: Why not one of the Sudanese languages?

Robert: The Sudanese languages: They are very many, they are very competitive because of politics. If you choose one the others will say why not the other one. So to be on the neutral ground, I think it is better to go for Swahili.

Q: You know that we have a common language in Southern Sudan, [Juba Arabic or Arabic, yeah?

Robert: With Arabic we have this historical conflict with the Arabs. I think it is better to have a clear cut break and move away from Arabic, regardless whether it is Juba or Omdurman.

Probe: So your reason for break is historical?

Robert: Historical, political, and associated with oppression.

Q: Do you think that the educational language policy in Sudan should be comprehensive and include the vernacular languages?

Robert: I don't know the language policy in Sudan.

Prompt to remind Robert: At the moment the educational language policy in Sudan is Arabisation or Arabicisation since independence [researcher explains further].

Robert: What do you mean by this question. Do you mean the educational language policy should recognise all the languages in Sudan as equal?

Researcher: Yes, that is what I mean.

Robert: I see. Well, ahh, I will not really go further than to say that since I have already said my position about Arabic, let the policy include all the other languages except Arabic.

Probe: For the whole Sudan?

Robert: I am speaking about the South. I don't know whether I am really competent to speak on the whole Sudan. For me Sudan means South Sudan, or New Sudan. Whatever they want to do in the North is their business. But if there is any language policy for Southern Sudan, yes, it should be comprehensive including vernaculars but excluding Arabic.

Probe: Even Arabic as a subject (in schools)?

Robert: Even as a subject. We don't really need it.

Q: Should the policy include certain selected languages or all the languages?

Robert: Should be all languages in the South, we don't want to discriminate against other languages.

Probe: What about resources for developing these languages?

Robert: I think resources for the development of those languages should be the responsibility of the local authorities.

Q: In implementing that comprehensive language policy in education, do you think it should be centralised or decentralised?

Robert: I think we are heading for decentralisation in many aspects of our life, so decentralised planning, particularly for the local languages is better. Powers for language policy implementation should be delegated to the Regions, Counties and Payams.

D: Language and Social Identity

Q: Do you think that language is the most important aspect of your social identity?

Robert: Not really, it is race, race is an important aspect of social identity.

Probe: Race not language?

Robert: Ethnicity, ethnicity and race are the main criteria for social identity.

Prompt: Why do you say that?

Robert: [After a long ahhh which indicates thinking about what to say] Robert says: Because we speak many languages for example I speak English but I am not an English man. The fact that I speak English better than Moru (his mother tongue) does not make me an English man, and lose my African race.

Q: What are the Sudanese languages you identify with?

Robert: Sudanese languages? One of them is Moru, my mother tongue.

Prompt: That's one...

Robert: I also identify with local Arabic, Juba Arabic.

Q: What are the non-indigenous or non-Sudanese languages you identify with?

Robert: Definitely English. I have done all my education in English if you want the reasons.

Prompt: Arabic is regarded as non-indigenous, because indigenous languages in this study are the African languages. [In this case Juba Arabic is regarded as indigenous as it developed from the community interaction]

Robert: I don't identify with Arabic. As for Juba Arabic, yes, it can be considered indigenous, but it is used for convenience really, not for identification. [This begs the question as to how this participant understand by the term identification]

Q: Do you think the Sudanese should identify with one single language and one culture?

Robert: You say Sudanese, why not South Sudanese? This is difficult in our circumstances really. This is because we diverse in our cultures, in our languages, even in Southern Sudan. We cannot identify with a single language or a single culture. We should have diversity of cultures and languages, and respect for all of them.

E: Language as a national Resource [in the sense of valuable asset]

Q: Do you think that the many Sudanese languages are a valuable social resource?

Robert: I think yes. If people were to know the different languages, the richness and the diversity could be shared by others to improve and promote our cultures.

Q: Could you give an example of use of language as a resource?

Robert: Language is used for singing, for poetry, drama and even for making expressions.

Q: Do you remember having taken part in promoting language because you think it is a resource, by speaking in it, teaching it to the youngsters so that they pick it up so that it is passed to the next generation? Or have you any observation of government promoting language as resource?

Robert: I haven't taken part in teaching language but I have carried out community activities that were aimed at promoting languages. I fundraised for two languages to be taught to our children who do not speak mother tongues in Britain. I did not do the teaching but I designed the policy.

Prompt: What about the government, do you have any observations?

Robert: Unfortunately I have had no opportunity to find out about government's role in language policy promotion when I was in Juba.

F: The Role of Language in Social Empowerment and Exclusion

Q: Do you feel that the current Arabicisation policy facilitates your involvement and participation in national affairs? [Take the fact that you don't know Arabic]

Robert: Actually what I thought was that I was being excluded from participating in the national affairs, in the sense that my Arabic was limited and poor, and yet Arabic was the official language for conducting activities and for participating in the affairs of the country. The fact that I did not know sufficient Arabic meant I could play much role. The fact that even I did not feel that I should have learned Arabic so as to enable to participate in the affairs of the country makes me feel excluded, discriminated against and probably feel alien to the whole system.

Q: Do you remember of any experience where you worked in the Attorney General Department in Sudan that there was a piece of work you could not do because of language barrier?

Robert: I did not have that experience because I was working in Southern Sudan where English was the official language of administration and the courts.

Probe: If you felt so excluded due to language barrier, how would you describe the situation of the ordinary citizen?

Robert: It depends. If that citizen is resident in town and is used to communicating in Juba Arabic, they will not feel any difference. But if the ordinary citizen is from rural area or background, or a returnee from refuge in the neighbouring countries like myself, then that kind of citizen will feel even worst.

Q: What about the role of English as the official language in the South? Do you think that the policy was inclusive?

Robert: It was not inclusive, in the sense that to be able to speak in English really one needed to go to school. Only those who went to school could speak English. Not everybody went to school. But at the same time people who went to school and learned in English, preferred working in English because it is easier for us to communicate in English than in Arabic. Also many people did not have extremely bad memories about English than they had about Arabic. There was no hatred as such towards English as compared to Arabic.

Probe: Do you think there was hatred towards Arabic?

Robert: Oh yes, much hatred toward Arabic.

Probe: Can you comment on the Anglicisation policy a little bit in relation to ordinary citizens?

Robert: In relation to the rural areas, the ordinary citizens because they did not know English, they were really left out, they were not catered for. For them it was just lack of opportunity to learn Arabic. They really needed to learn Arabic but opportunities were limited. There was not political ...against English.

Q: Do you think that ordinary citizen and communities can be empowered through a pluralist language policy in education in the Sudan?

Robert: Yes, I think so, a pluralist language policy would be good.

G: Language and development or the role of language in development

Q: To what extent do you think the current post-colonial language policies in Sudan have contributed to the development of the ordinary citizens in terms of their cultural, social and educational development?

Robert: Well, Arabicisation and Anglicisation are languages built on bricks (...) different cultures in Southern Sudan. In fact they are the languages now that can promote dialogue among the various ethnic groups and as long as there is communication, there is room for development. It can happen. Ideas can be transmitted through these languages; and they can be the medium of communication for us.

Probe: Are you saying that the use of the languages—Arabic and English—will promote communication and development cultures even of the ordinary citizen?

Robert: Yes, even of ordinary citizens.

Q: Can you describe the effects (negative or positive) of Anglicisation in the development of the areas discussed, the social, economic, cultural, etc?

Robert: The problem was that the more these languages are used in the Southern Sudan, the less opportunities are given for the local languages. In a way their use and their use and promotion retards the development of the local languages. People tend to use them in many functions, official government duties, communication, writing, etc. So in a way they retard the development of the local languages. The people who use them are not necessarily the majority of the people but at the same time they are the most effective group in the community. It is they who run the administration, it is they who run the policies, who make decisions etc. This expanded role of the LWC contribute to the retardation of the local languages.

Q: (as a probe): What should be done then to promote the local language?

Robert: It is difficult in the current set up in relation to the position of English language. English is an international language for global development or globalisation of the economy and other social matters are carried out through English. And as the world is moving towards global development, the local languages are endangered if they are not protected by policies. But at the same time they are the one that transcend the social, political and economic boundaries locally and internationally.

Probe: What about the idea that development should not be limited to the few who speak the international languages?

Robert: Yes, development will be limited to the few, but with time, and with new policies such as universal primary education coming in, poverty eradication programmes, the fact that education for human rights and literacy is being promoted, empowerment and access to education will become available to all with time.

Appendix 5

Profile of Participants in the Study's Interview

1. Mukhtar Ali: A Northern Sudanese academic and former English language University lecturer in Sudan now a human rights activist and worker in London the United Kingdom.
2. Abdu Ahmed: A Northern Sudanese academic and an Arabic and Islamic scholar now works as a researcher for a publishing firm in London specialising in Arabic and Islamic history and culture.
3. Ahmed Sadik: A Northern Sudanese academic with experience in journalism and human rights campaign now works for a human rights organisation in the United Kingdom.
4. Korseed Saeed: A Northern Sudanese from the Nuba Mountains region in south western Sudan, and a former primary school teacher. He was coordinating education in the SPLM controlled area in the Nuba Mountains region.
5. Adam Abubakar: Like Korseed, Adam is from the Nuba Mountains region. A former civil servant in Khartoum with long work experience in government work, Adam joined the SPLM and has emerged as one of Nuba political leaders in the SPLM.
6. Denis Losu: A Southern Sudanese teacher educated at Makerere University, Uganda, Losu worked in the East Africa before returning home to Southern Sudan in the 1970s. He now works as a teacher trainer in the SPLM liberated areas in Southern Sudan. He is proud of having had his early education in his mother tongue which he like to see re-established the educational system in Southern Sudan.
7. Simon Lomude: A Southern Sudanese politician in the SPLM. Like Losu, he began school in his mother tongue and recalls how well organised education was with well trained teachers.
8. Kobi Danima: A Southern Sudanese politician in the SPLM with long experience in community development and humanitarian work. He showed great interest in the developing the Southern Sudan educational system through teacher training and curriculum development projects in the SPLM administered areas.
9. Alex Drago: A Southern Sudanese educationalist with interest in curriculum development. He lived in Nairobi and was involved in a teacher training programme in the SPLM administered areas in Southern Sudan at the time of interviews. He indicated interest in the use, development and maintenance of Southern Sudan indigenous languages.
10. Bishop Dominic Dau is Southern Sudanese working for the Episcopal Church of Sudan (ECS). This Sudanese Christian denomination is part of the Anglican Church. Bishop Dau showed keen interest in the education of the internally displaced Southern Sudanese in the Northern Sudan during the civil war period. He was working in the Upper Nile, Southern Sudan, at the time of interviews.
11. Rev Justin Kiriba is a senior Southern educationalist with long service and experience in the education sector in Sudan and Southern Sudan in particular. Like Drago he lived in Nairobi and was involved in teacher training programmes in the SPLM administered areas at the time of interviews.

12. Ollamoi Paul: A Southern Sudanese primary school teacher, he was attending literacy teaching skills training with SIL Sudan Unit temporarily based in Nairobi at the time of interviews.
13. Mario Opilu: Like Ollamoi, he was a primary school teacher and was attending the same course at SIL in Nairobi.
14. Kenyi Monasuk is Southern Sudanese humanitarian worker based in Nairobi. After completing post-graduate agricultural training in Kenya in the 1980s, the civil war prevented him from returning to Sudan and instead he decided to do humanitarian work in the SPLM administered areas in Southern Sudan, focussing on education.
15. Robert Milla is a Southern Sudanese politician and lawyer. Like Kenyi, he manages an NGO which is also doing work on education in Southern Sudan.
16. Ms Jenti Kasang is Southern Sudanese who has worked with various humanitarian organisations in Sudan. Her jobs involved activities including promotion of gender awareness, providing relief to displaced Southern Sudanese in Northern Sudan and educating women on development issues.
17. Rev Edward Tombe worked for a Sudanese humanitarian NGO at the time of interview. He is an Anglican pastor who is interested in serving local communities through various ways. He was visiting Uganda at the time of interview in Kampala.
18. Paul Mogga is one of the few surviving Southern Sudanese primary school teachers who were trained during the Southern Regional Government (1972-1983). He remained in the Southern Sudan during the second civil war (1983-2005). He was a teacher trainer in the SPLM administered liberated areas in Southern Sudan at the time of interview.
19. Elisa Yuggu is a Southern Sudanese academic and political activist based in Kenya at the time of interview.
20. Gordon Ibrahim, like Yuggu, is a Southern Sudanese academic and a political activist based in Kenya at the time of interview.
21. Andrew Kulang is old Southern Sudanese teacher and educationalist who held various senior positions the Ministry of Education in the Southern Sudan. He was visiting Kampala at the time of interview.
22. Stanley Lu'bang is a Southern political activist, teacher and educationalist who was based in Kampala at the time of interview. He was working for the relief wing of SPLM as well for coordinating the movement's education activities in Southern Sudan.
23. Fr. Achol Makur is a Roman Catholic priest who is interested in education policy and curriculum development for Southern Sudan. He was based in Southern Sudan, but was on a visit to Kampala at the time of interview.
24. Rev Tabu Eluzai is young Southern Sudanese pastor based in Khartoum serving mainly in the displaced people's camps around the Sudanese capital. He is agriculturalist by training, but is interested in teaching and other educational activities.

Appendix 6

Extracts from Regional Assembly Debate and Resolution on Language 1974

On the 12th of June 1974 and during the proceedings of setting No 23 of the People's Regional Assembly in Juba, Sayyed Joshua Dau Diu of the Zerraf Territorial Constituency presented to the Assembly the following motion:

‘That English language be re-introduced as the medium of instruction in the educational institutions of the region as from 1974/75 academic year’.

The motion was seconded by Sayyed Simon Mori Didumo (Regional Constituency for Intellectuals), and was then open for debate on the following sitting No 24 on Thursday 13th June 1974.

Summary of the debate

Sayyed Joshua Dau Diu (Mover):

1. The Addis Ababa Agreement...wisely and rightly recognises English as the language of the majority in the Region and as such defined it as the principal language.
2. In the Region almost every office is working in English; and to insure the continuation of such administration you must have generations having the same language in schools.
3. Almost all my teachers who taught me in primary school were laid off because they couldn't speak and teach in Arabic. If we introduce English in schools we will have no problems of teachers.
4. Most of the books written in English are for foreigners and are having pictures or symbols within the environment. At the moment you will find many books written in Arabic but with desert background. This would not help children very much to learn from the practical scene in which they are being educated.
5. There is also a great interplay between the two languages: the English languages and the tribal vernaculars. The characters which are used here are Roman characters and you find that children easily get acquainted if they start with the dialect and go to English.
6. When you go beyond the south of the Region, East or West, you will have no problem of communication (if using English).
7. When you introduce English you are introducing the former system of education which no one could doubt that it was quite superior. We wish our children to enjoy what we have enjoyed.

Then Sayyed Michael Tawil Ngamunde who was the regional Minister of Education at the time responded:

8. The Regional Ministry of Education has already laid down a plan to see to it that the reintroduction of English in the primary schools will have to start gradually.
9. There has always been the problem of teachers coming from the North. They either come two months late, or even six months late and the children stay in the schools and only one quarter of the syllabuses are taught.
10. At present now in our schools we are going to be faced with three languages: English, Arabic and some vernaculars. So in this case here the plan must be carefully done and careful researches have to take place in our teacher training institutes.

Then Sayyed Simon Mori Didumo, who seconded the motion for introducing English, spoke.

1. The point at issue is whether or not English should be dropped as the principal language of the South.
2. Our background in English is stronger than in any other foreign language including Arabic.
3. The choice this house has to make is whether Arabic must be made to take over from English as the principal language in the Region.
4. The use of Arabic as the language of instruction in the majority of our schools is an indication that the Ministry of Education is preparing the South for the day when we switch to Arabic as the principal language in the South. Let's be sure that this trend is stopped by re-introducing English as medium of instruction in the Southern schools.
5. The mystery surrounding this issue must be cleared because it concerns a vital matter. It cannot be left to guess-work. If we fail to do this then the gap between the new young generation and the old generation will be wider. There will be lack of communication both in private and public life.
6. We should not forget so soon that one of the root causes of the Southern Problem was the imposition of Arabic on the Southern people.
7. When English was used as the language of instruction in this Region, the standard of education was superior and competitive. I need not say what it is like today, because you all know.
8. For serious and scholarly studies and research, English is a better tool than Arabic. Arabic native speakers themselves oppose introduction of Arabic in university to substitute English. For studying abroad you will do better if educated in English. The moment we switch to Arabic that will be the end of overseas scholarships to our students.
9. The present trend is clearly making inevitable a situation which will give us a standard of Arabic which is inferior to that in the North and a standard of English which is not good enough to take us anywhere.

Then Sayyed Eliaba Surur (Central Western Equatoria Constituency) spoke.

1. It is common fear throughout the country that when you talk of introducing English in the Southern Region, it is viewed as the way to break away from the unity of the country. I am sure unity of the country is not only achieved by speaking one language. So many united countries use many languages.
2. I know that today in the world most of the books we read are actually written in English. So if English is completely missing in our primary schools then we are actually stopping the learning of the young children who can study on their own.
3. I have a nephew who actually finished primary six in Arabic and to day this boy is not able to write or read Arabic fluently and he has no world of English.
4. We must take the easiest way if we want to achieve quick development and quick good educational standards. We don't have to take a difficult way because we think this will help the political situation.

Sayyed Lawrence Lual Lual (Regional Minister for Presidential Affairs) spoke.

1. I would like to point out that we have to be realistic. Three quarters of our children today are at different stages of education. If they were asked they will say that they would like to have Arabic as language of instruction.
2. I had one time thought that English should be introduced as medium of instruction. But now I came to this conclusion: things have changed, Mr Speaker. Things have changed from the time when we were taught in our schools. One reason of these changes was that during the 17 year civil war English was

gradually removed and Arabic became the medium of instruction in primary schools and junior secondary schools.

3. The lingua franca in the South is Arabic; in the market and in the social places we talk in Arabic and it looks as if English is going to be an isolated language.
4. It is because we have various languages in the South so that is why we still talk in terms of other languages.
5. If English is used as the medium of instruction in schools, we are definitely going to deprive our children from useful learning. For they neither will know English well to understand what is being taught in the class nor will they be able really to appreciate the Arabic language as a national language.
6. English should be introduced as a subject.

Sayyed Ismail Rajb Kheir (Provincial Constituency for the Sudanese Youth Union, Upper Nile).

1. In fact, I myself personally is not against the proposed suggestion that English language be re-introduced as a medium in educational institutions of the Region as from 1974/75.
2. Some schools even during the British time were working in Arabic such as El Bandar Primary School, Malakal, Atar and Bor Junior Secondary school in Upper Nile Province. They still are. Are we going to change these?
3. We should avoid anything that appears to be against the Addis Ababa Agreement.
4. Leave schools now functioning in English to continue so. Introduce English as a subject in those running in Arabic.

Colonel Peter Lumari Yoane (Regional Constituency for Organised [military] Forces)

1. We the few Southerners who went to the Military College had a lot of difficulties for the first six months in the college. I think if we knew some Arabic before, we would not meet those difficulties.
2. I think to avoid Arabic language will be a very big mistake for our future generation. Arabic and English must go side by side.

Sayyed Joshua Okwali Nyilek (Provincial Administrative Unit Constituency, Upper Nile).

1. English has been taught in the Southern Region for some years from elementary school and perhaps every Southerner has become familiar with it. It is an international language and is important for the people.
2. The present generation is advancing in Arabic and I could see that this language is to help us communicate in our country, the Sudan.
3. When I see a common man outside I could see that he speaks Arabic. So it is essential that Arabic has to continue as a national language for these reasons.
4. Arabic is important for communication with every Sudanese in the country and for getting a simple job. Arabic facilitates following the national activities.

Mading de Garang (Regional Minister for Cooperation and Rural Development)

Amendment:

1. That English language be introduced as a medium in the educational institutions of the Southern Region and that the Ministry of Education immediately sets up a team of experts to recommend at which stage this language will become the principal language of instruction.

2. The task of introducing English in the Regional education institutions be left primarily to the Ministry of Education who would recommend the stage they consider fit for the start. (He stressed that the House should rely on the educational experts.
3. Mr de Garang withdrew his amendment after a suggestion from Lawrence Lual Lual. Then it was voted on .
Ayes = 7
Noes= 21
Abstention =6

Then the original motion was put to vote. The divisions:

Ayes = 22
Noes = Nil
Abstention = 13

Note: The Assembly has 60 members. So it seems 25 were absent)

Appendix 7

The Democratic Republic of the Sudan

Secretariat General
High Executive Council
Southern Region
Juba

Resolution of the H. E. C

The Use of Local Languages and of Arabic and English for Education in the Southern Region

After considering submission of the Regional Ministry of Education No MESR/SR/1. A. 1/5 dated 23-10-75 on the use of the above languages for education in the Southern Region in the light of its resolution No 247 dated 29-9-75;

The Hon. High Executive Council (H. E. C.) in its meeting No 103 of 8-11-75 resolved that:

a) In the case of rural schools:

(i) The Vernacular is used as medium of instruction in the first and second years with Arabic and English introduced orally.

(ii) The Vernacular is used as medium of instruction in the third and fourth years while Arabic and English are intensified.

(iii) Arabic be the medium of instruction in fifth and sixth years while English continue to be intensified.

b) In the case of urban schools:

(i) Arabic be the medium of instruction in the first and second year while English is introduced orally.

(ii) Arabic continues as medium of instruction in third and fourth years while English is introduced in writing.

(iii) In fifth and sixth years Arabic continues as a medium of instruction while English is intensified.

c) In all junior secondary schools Arabic shall be the medium of instruction while English is intensified.

d) In all senior secondary schools and post-senior secondary schools, English shall be the medium of instruction and Arabic is taught as a language with its literature.

e) Adult education shall be conducted in local languages and in Arabic.

f) The Regional Ministry of Education shall establish a college for languages with a department for local languages and shall seek the assistance of the SIL in development of local languages.

g) Specialisation in local languages in senior secondary and higher institutional levels on optional basis be encouraged.

h) The Regional government supports the establishment of the Regional Curriculum Development Centre.

i) The decision will be implemented gradually taking into account the present pattern of education which allows for both English and Arabic as medium of instruction, and

j) The language problem is open for wide discussions.

The Regional Ministry of Education take necessary action.

Place: Secretariat General H.E.C. (Southern Region). Juba

Date: 8/11/1975

No SG/HEC/SLR/1.A.2.

Appendix 8

Language Survey Report and Cooperative Agreement between SIL and Regional Ministry of Education, Southern Region, Juba, Southern Sudan

Report of the Language Survey in Southern Sudan

Extracts from a Report to the Ministry of Education arising from the Language Survey in Southern Sudan carried out by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), 1975.

Language Roles

<p>Role A-Languages which could be considered as medium of instruction in primary schools for 3-6 years.</p> <p>Bari Dinka Kresh Lotuko Moru Ndogo Nuer Shhilluk Zande</p> <p>NB: Murle and Toposa will probably need to be added to this list. See discussion of zone 8 and 9 below.</p>	<p>Role B-Languages which could be considered as the means of teaching literacy with transitional materials to the major language.</p> <p>Acholi Annuak Baka Banda Didinga Feroqe Jur Beli Jur Luo Kakwa** Kaliko Madi Mundu Murle* Toposa*</p> <p>This list could easily be extended—for instance, Avukaya. Morokodo and Shatt could be considered. It may be wiser however to proceed on a limited scale at this stage.</p> <p>NB:* Murle and Toposa as mentioned above. **Kakwa is regarded a dialect of Bari in Sudan. It is a major language in Uganda West Nile area.</p>
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If the ministry decides that some of the languages listed as suitable for Role A should not in fact be developed as media of instruction in schools, these languages should be added to those listed under Role B. These two lists cover 23 languages. Quite apart from the question of developing local languages as medium of instruction in schools, if these 23 languages were used as means of teaching reading and writing, this would ensure that every child at least began school in a language he could understand. If the major languages chosen for the area

were being acquired in the mother-tongue and then transition materials from the mother-tongue to the major language were provided, the language problem which at the moment is severe in many rural areas could be overcome.

Language Distribution by Area

It may be helpful to review the way these proposals would work in different parts of the South. For this purpose the South has been divided into ten zones.

Zone	Role A Languages	Role B Languages
1. Juba and Southern Nile Valley area 2. Yei River area	Bari A group language for six groups or dialects: Mondari, Bari, Pajulu, Kakwa, Kuku, and Nyangwara	Acholi, Madi, Baka, Kaliko, Mundu, Avukaya, Logo, Luluba, and Makaraka.
3. Amadi-Mvolo	Moru A group language for all dialects of Moru sub-groups	Jur Beli, Morukodo, Wira, Biti, Nyamusa, Bongo
4. Maridi-Tembura	Zande	All the Zande speaking tribes; speakers of other languages in this zone know Zande.
5. Wau	Ndogo	Jur (Luo), Shatt, Bado, Balanda Bor, Balanda Bvirri, Bai, Golo, and Tagbu
6. Raga	Kresh Arabic	Foroge, Banda, Binga-Yulu, Aja, Mangaya, Indri, Togbo, Ngalgulgule and Kara
7. Central Nile Valley	Dinka Nuer Shulluk	Some dialects of Dinka and Nuer may serve the Role B function
8. Pibor	Murle	Anuak, Suri and Ngalam on the Boma Plateau
9. Kapoeta (Kapweta)	Toposa	Didinga, Langarim (speakers of Didinga)
10. Torit	Lotuho A group language for dialects including Lopit, Lango, Dongotono, and Lokoya	Lokoya

Profile and Capacity Development of Languages and Personnel

1. Role A Languages

There are some materials already in most of these languages but in most cases these material is inadequate both in quality and quantity.

A start could be made, however, at least in using these languages for Role B purposes, i.e. teaching the skills of reading and writing. The following stages might be followed.

- i) Reprint existing primers, post-primers, etc.
- ii) Revise and re-issue primers and post-primers.
- iii) Develop teaching materials using these local languages as the media of instruction.

Step (i) and (ii) would enable these languages to be used for Role B purposes while step (iii) was carried out.

Step (ii) could best be carried out under the guidance of qualified and experienced consultant who could train and supervise teachers from the different languages who would prepare the necessary material.

Step (iii) would involve similar consultant help.

2. Role B Languages

Few of these have adequate materials. SIL would be prepared to supply trained personnel to carry out the necessary underlying research and to work with local teachers and others to prepare primers, post-primers, etc.

Such a programme would involve:

Stage 1. SIL research teams to carry out basic linguistic research in the local language
Minimum time 2 years.

Stage 2. Initial literacy materials developed in the local language. Local teachers trained to use these materials. Minimum time 1 year.

Stage 3. These experimental materials tried out in selected schools over a two year period with adequate monitoring to facilitate necessary revisions. Further materials developed to cover transition in the selected major languages which will be used as medium of instruction. Minimum time 2 years.

3. Training Programme

The Summer Institute of Linguistics would be willing to provide teaching programmes so that suitably qualified personnel would obtain both basic training and practical supervised experience to carry out this type of linguistic research and literacy programme.

4. By-products

Such research and development programme would have a number of additional benefits:

- (i) The linguistic analyses of these languages would provide a framework which would improve the teaching of any second language, e.g. English, Arabic, Dinka, etc. The mother-tongue eventually affects the learning of a second language greatly, with other languages leads to a greater understanding of the difficulties which learners encounter.
- (ii) Considerable cultural material would be collected and prepared, including substantial oral literature of great value.

(iii) Local personnel would be trained in literacy principles and methods and in the techniques of modern linguistics.

Personnel Required

The following SIL personnel would be needed to carry out these proposals.

1. Research personnel:

- a) Literacy Consultant to supervise and coordinate all the literacy aspects including the construction of literacy materials, development of programmes, training of teachers and writers.
- b) Linguistic consultant to coordinate the linguistic aspects of the project and training programmes.
- c) Twelve research teams, each team comprising either a married couple or two single people.

2. Administrative Personnel:

Director of the Project

Director's Secretary

Personnel Manager

Business Manager for Financial and general business matters

Technical Assistant to handle equipment

Administrative Assistant to handle records, library, archiving.

NB: In addition the services of a curriculum specialist will be required. Though it is an area beyond SIL's normal work, SIL would be willing to assist the Ministry in trying to find such a person.

If the Ministry wish to pursue these proposals, SIL would be willing to work with the Ministry on the basis of a cooperative agreement, such as that attached to the report.

Respectfully submitted on behalf of the Summer Institute of Linguistics

John Bendor-Samuel

Area Director for Africa

23rd April 1975

Draft Proposal of Cooperative Agreement

A Cooperative Agreement between the Ministry of Education of the Southern Region of Sudan and the Summer Institute of Linguistics

1. The Ministry and the Institute will cooperate in a project designed to commence education through initial literacy in the mother-tongue followed by graded transfer to the major language.
2. The basic linguistic research in the languages selected and preparation of literacy materials in these languages will be carried out by the Institute.
3. The Institute will provide the Ministry with copies of these basic research materials.
4. The preparation of transfer materials from each language into the major language will be carried out jointly by personnel of the Ministry and the \institute working together.

5. The Institute will provide the following personnel:

a) Research personnel:

A Literacy consultant

A linguistic consultant

12 research teams

b) Necessary administrative staff, such as:

A director of the project

Director's Secretary

Personnel Manager

Business Manager

Technical Assistant

Administrative Assistant

6. The Ministry will provide office facilities for the project, as these become available.

7. The Institute will be responsible for the expenses of the overseas personnel and the cost of the initial linguistic research, including such expenses as travel in the area concerned.

8. The Ministry will be responsible for the expenses of the local personnel and the cost of publication of the literacy and transfer materials. The Institute will assist the Ministry in seeking funds for these publications.

9. The Ministry will assist the Institute in obtaining visas for its personnel, in obtaining permission to import necessary equipment duty-free, and obtaining permission to operate aviation and radio facilities.

10. The conclusion of this agreement does not preclude the Institute from collaborating with other organisations such as the universities of Khartoum and Juba in carrying out its linguistic research and with other interested people and agencies in the fields of literacy and Bible translation in which the Institute also has an interest.

11. It is recognised that this is a long-term project, likely to take 10 years to complete. Both parties, however, have the right to terminate the agreement by giving at least one year's notice to the other party.

On behalf of the Ministry of Education

Minister

Date:

On behalf of the Summer Institute of Linguistics

Area Director for Africa

Date:

Appendix 9

New Sudan Curriculum Committee

Syllabus for Primary Schools in SPLM Administered Areas in Southern Sudan, Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile

The following language policy-related introductory statements to four languages considered in the SPLM educational language policy—Mother tongue, English, Kiswahili, and Arabic—accompany the proposed syllabus of each of these languages.

Mother Tongue

A child's mother tongue is his or her first language; the language of the home or school catchment area.

The main aim of teaching mother tongue as a subject in primary schools is to establish basic learning skills such as listening, understanding, pre-reading and reading, pre-writing and writing because it is the medium of instruction at lower primary school. At upper primary level it will be taught as a subject.

It encourages the child's spontaneous response during the learning process. In primary school, mother tongue harmonises the school with the home, thus making conducive learning situation. Mother tongue is the only language the child can use to understand and comprehensively express his or her cultural heritage.

It discourages the development of inferiority complex in a child, commonly experienced when the learner is using a foreign language as a medium of instruction. It reduces overloading the child with double concentration on the learning of a foreign language and the subject content at the same time.

English Language

The New Sudan is an area inhabited by people of diverse linguistic backgrounds. The people of New Sudan have selected English as the medium of communication and learning among themselves. They consider English as neutral but effective tool for unity and development. The language will enable the people of New Sudan not only to communicate internationally, but also to benefit in knowledge and technology. Learning and communicating in English will speed up national development as well as enabling the people of New Sudan to benefit from the experiences of the developed world.

Kiswahili

Kiswahili will be developed into one of the major languages of New Sudan. It will be used for communication and trade inside the country and with the outside world, particularly New Sudan's Southern neighbours whose lingua franca is Kiswahili. It will be one of the indigenous African languages which will promote national unity and identity.

Inside the country, Kiswahili will be used both in electronic and print media for communication among citizens and foreigners from the Kiswahili speaking countries.

Kiswahili will be taught as a subject primary level starting from primary four. It is hoped that in future it will be taught from primary one. Therefore it is important that this language is

taught well using the necessary language skills which will enable the school-leavers use it appropriately both verbally and in writing.

Arabic

Arabic is the language of the countries which are neighbouring New Sudan in the Arab World. The language is used in urban centres and some rural areas of New Sudan as the language of interaction and communication among the different nationalities. Therefore it is desirable to teach our children Arabic so that they can understand and interact with other nationalities which use it as their language of communication.

Our children could also learn Arabic in order to master skills and knowledge to enable them derive appropriate information from Arabic literary works. Arabic is also important for maintaining diplomatic and trade links with the Arabic speaking nations.

Arabic will be taught as a second language to the beginners as from primary five to primary eight, and there will be areas where it will be taught as a mother tongue beginning from primary one up to primary eight.

Appendix 10

Language Plan of Action for Africa

Part I

AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND PRINCIPLES

The aims and objectives of this plan of action are as follows:

- a) To encourage each and every Member State to have a clearly defined language policy;
- b) To ensure that all languages within the boundaries of Member States are recognised and accepted as a source of mutual enrichment;
- c) To liberate African peoples from undue reliance of utilisation of non-indigenous languages as the dominant, official languages of the state in favour of gradual take-over of the appropriate and carefully selected indigenous African languages in this domain;
- d) To ensure that African languages, by appropriate legal provision and practical promotions, assume their rightful role as the means of official communication in the public affairs of each Member State in replacement of European languages which have hitherto played this role;
- e) To encourage the increased use of African languages as vehicles of instruction at all educational levels;
- f) To ensure that all sectors of the political and socio-economic system of each Member State is mobilised in such a manner that they play their due part in ensuring that the African language(s) prescribed as official language(s) assume their intended role in the shortest time possible;
- g) To foster and promote national, regional, and continental linguistic unity in Africa in the context of the multilingualism prevailing in most African countries.

Part II

PRIORITIES

- a) Policy formulation
Whether at the national, regional or continental levels, the selection and prescription without undue delay of certain viable national, regional or continental indigenous African languages as the official languages to be used for the formal official functions of the State, regional grouping or the OAU (**now AU**).
- b) Implementation and Promotion
The subsequent implementation of the language policy adopted and the incorporation of the official African languages in the political, educational, social, cultural and economic lives of the people.
- c) Modernization
The modernization as necessary and by any means required of the indigenous African languages selected and prescribed as official languages.
- d) Mobilization of resources
The mobilization of financial, human and other resources and all relevant public and private relevant institutions in the practical promotion of the chosen official languages.

Part III

PROGRAMME OF ACTION (METHODS AND MEANS)

In order to fulfil the objectives set out in Part I the African States solemnly subscribe to the following programme of action:

- a) At continental level and as a concrete expression of OAU's **(AU's)** seriousness of purpose, the adoption without undue delay by the Organization of African Unity **(African Union)** and the regional associations, organizations or institutions affiliated to it of viable indigenous African languages as working languages;
- b) To encourage regional associations, organizations or institutions already accorded or those applying for observer status to the OAU **(AU)** to adopt indigenous African languages as their working languages;
- c) At regional level, the adoption by regional groupings of viable, regional, indigenous languages as official or working languages;
- d) At national level, the imperative need for each OUA **(AU)** Member State to consider it necessary and primary that it formulates with the minimum delay a language policy that places an indigenous African language or languages spoken or in active use by its people at the centre of its economic development;
- e) In order to fulfil the objective in (d), the need of each Member State to establish a national language council, where none exists or to strengthen it, where one already exists, as national sounding boards for the formulation of an appropriate national language policy;
- f) The absolute necessity that each Member State, as a matter of supreme practical importance, follows up the formulation of an appropriate national with adequate and sustained allocation of the necessary financial and material resources to ensure that the language or languages prescribed as official language(s) achieve(s) a level of modernization that meets the needs of administering a modern state;
- g) In the recognition of the negative estimation in which indigenous African languages are generally held in Africa by the general public, the necessity for each Member State, as part of its national programme of promoting these languages duly prescribed as official to mount a sustained campaign of educating and re-educating the national population about the inherent and potential practical utility of African languages to counter the present widespread negative attitudes in Africa toward these languages;
- h) In recognition that the formal national education system plays a key role in the practical use of any language, the need for each Member States to ensure that all the sectors (i.e. primary, secondary and tertiary) of national education system are pressed as appropriate in the service of the practical promotion of the indigenous language(s) selected and prescribed as (an) official language(s);
- i) Aware that African universities, research institutes and other institutions concerned with the study and promotion of African languages have a unique role to play in strengthening the role these languages play in the daily lives of the African people, the need for these institutions to strike a proper balance in future between the scientific study of the African languages and their actual use and practical promotion;
- j) In connection with (i) above the need for each Member State to render its national universities and other research institutes and institutions a primary instrument for practical promotion of African languages as regards such critical promotional activities as the compilation of technical and general dictionaries, the writing of textbooks on useful subjects, the training of teachers of languages, translators, interpreters, broadcasters and journalists, the production of useful books and type of literature relevant to the life of the contemporary African and the up-dating of vocabulary in African languages;

- k) In recognition of the fact that to impart formal and other types of knowledge the vehicle of instruction and communication should be a language familiar to the learner, the absolute necessity that each Member State should as an essential part of its educational policy, prescribe as media or vehicle of instruction those indigenous languages those indigenous languages that best and most effectively facilitate the learning process;
- l) In recognition of the singularly strategic role widespread literacy among the national population plays in the socio-economic devilment of a country, and recognising further that literacy education will be greatly facilitated and speeded up if languages familiar to the national population are employed, the advisability of using indigenous African languages as media of instruction in national literacy campaign mounted by Member States.

Appendix 11

The Asmara Declaration on African Languages and Literatures

We writers and scholars from all regions of Africa gathered in Asmara, Eritrea, from January 11 to 17, 2000, at a conference entitled Against All Odds: African Languages and Literatures into the 21st century. This is the first conference on African languages and literatures ever to be held on African soil, with participants from east, west, north, southern Africa and from the diaspora and by writers and scholars from around the world. We examine the state of African language in literature, scholarship, publishing, education, and administration in Africa and throughout the world. We celebrated the vitality of African languages and literatures and affirmed their potential. We noted with pride that despite all the odds against them, African languages as vehicles of communication and knowledge survive and have a written continuity of thousands of years. Colonialism created some of the most serious obstacles against African languages and literatures. We noted with concern the fact that these colonial obstacles still haunt independent Africa and continue to block the mind of the continent. We identified a profound incongruity in colonial languages speaking for the continent. At the start of a new century and millennium Africa must firmly reject this incongruity and affirm a new beginning by returning to its languages and heritage.

At this historic conference, we writers and scholars from all region of Africa gathered in Asmara, Eritrea, declare that:

1. African languages must take on the duty, responsibility and challenge of speaking for the continent.
2. The vitality and equality of African languages must be recognised as a basis for the future empowerment of African peoples.
3. The diversity of African languages reflects the rich cultural heritage of Africa and must be used as an instrument of African unity.
4. Dialogue among African languages is essential: African languages must use the instrument of translation to advance communication among all people, including the disabled.
5. All African children have the unalienable right to attend school and learn in their mother tongues. Every effort should be made to develop African languages at all levels of education.
6. Promoting research on African languages is vital for their development while the advancement of African research and documentation will be best served by the use of African languages.
7. The reflective and rapid development of science and technology must be used for the development of African languages.
8. Democracy is essential for equal development of African languages and African languages are vital for the development of democracy based on equality and social justice.
9. African languages, like all languages contain gender bias. The role of African languages in development must overcome this gender bias and achieve gender equality.
10. African languages are essential for the decolonization of African minds and for the African Renaissance.

The initiative that has materialised in the Against All Odds conference must be continued through biennial conferences in different parts of Africa. In order to organise new conferences in different parts of Africa, create a forum of dialogue and cooperation, and advance the

principles of this declaration, a permanent Secretariat will be established, which will be initially based in Asmara, Eritrea.

Translation into as many African languages as possible and based on these principles the Asmara Declaration is affirmed by all participants in Against All Odds. We call upon all African states, the OAU, the UN and all international organisations that serve Africa to join this effort of recognition and support for African languages, with this declaration as a basis for new policies.

While we acknowledge with pride the retention of African languages in some parts of Africa and the diaspora and the role of African languages in the formation of new languages, we urge all people in Africa and the diaspora to join in the spirit of this declaration and become part of the efforts to realise its goals.

Asmara, 17th January 2000

Appendix 12

Language Provisions in South Africa's Constitution The Constitution of the Federal Republic of South Africa, 1996

(Act 108 of 1996)

As Adopted on 8 May 1996 and amended on 11 October by the Constitutional Assembly

Chapter 1

Founding Provisions

Languages

1. The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.
2. Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.
3. (a) The national government and the provincial governments may adopt any particular official languages for purpose of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.
(b) Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preference of their residents.
4. The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provision of subsection (2), all official language must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.
5. A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must-
 - (a) promote, and create conditions for the development and use of-
 - (i) all official languages,
 - (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
 - (iii) sign language, and
 - (b) promote and ensure respect for-
 - (i) all languages commonly used by communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu, and Urdu; and
 - (ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.' (see Bamgbose, 2000, p 127-129 for details).

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